

# The Historical Outlook

A JOURNAL FOR

READERS, STUDENTS AND TEACHERS OF HISTORY

*Continuing The History Teacher's Magazine*

EDITED IN CO-OPERATION WITH THE NATIONAL BOARD FOR HISTORICAL SERVICE AND UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF A COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. ALBERT E. MCKINLEY, MANAGING EDITOR

Volume X.  
Number 6.

PHILADELPHIA, JUNE, 1919.

\$2.00 a year.  
25 cents a copy.

## CONTENTS

PAGE

War Tasks and Accomplishments of the Shipping Board, by  
Dr. J. G. Randall - - - - - 305

Money Costs of the War, by Prof. E. L. Bogart - - - 310

A Few Territorial Problems, by Prof. L. M. Larson - - 312

A New Internationalism, by F. W. Gosling - - - 315

Teaching Citizenship — A Series of Articles on Various  
Phases of the Subject - - - - - 323-339

I. Ideal High School Course, by E. M. Skinner; II. Missing the Spirit of  
Citizenship, by J. M. Turner; III. The "Pasadena Plan," by R. L. Ashley;  
IV. Graphic Civics Exhibit, by E. Godshaw; V. A Neglected Subject, by  
E. E. Hill; VI. Current History, by H. A. Foster.

Supplement — Report of Progress by the Committee on History  
and Education for Citizenship in the Schools - - - 349

Notes from the Historical Field, 340; Notes on Periodical Literature, by Dr. G. B.  
Richards, 341; Book Reviews, edited by Prof. W. J. Chase, 342; Recent Historical Books,  
listed by Dr. C. A. Coulomb, 346; Articles on the Teaching of History, listed by W. L. Hall,  
347; Historical Articles in Current Magazines, listed by L. F. Stock, 347.

*Published monthly, except July, August and September, by McKinley Publishing Co., Philadelphia, Pa.*

Copyrighted, 1919, McKinley Publishing Co. Entered as second-class matter, October 26, 1909, at Post-office at Phila., Pa., under Act of March 3, 1879



**MR. H. G. WELLS**

the well-known English author, in-

**"History is One"**

in the *Saturday Evening Post* of May 3, 1919, makes a strong plea for teaching history as a whole and says,

"Two American writers, BREASTED and ROBINSON, have produced a very useful universal history in two volumes."

**ROBINSON, BREASTED, and BEARD'S**

**Outlines of European History**

**PARTS I and II**

exactly interpret the new history course and are now used in more than 2000 schools in the United States.

**GINN AND COMPANY : Publishers**

**70 Fifth Avenue, New York**

**Hart's New  
American History**

**FOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS**

**I**N this history the social conditions of the people and the economic development of the country are treated with unusual vividness. The new perspective on our foreign relations, the discriminating attention paid to military and naval events, and the well-constructed account of our government give this book a rare distinction.

In its pedagogic apparatus and mechanical appearance, it is as perfect as author and publishers can make it.

**The Author :** ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, LL. D.  
*Professor of Government, Harvard University*

**The Publishers :** AMERICAN BOOK COMPANY  
*New York, Cincinnati, Chicago, Boston, Atlanta*

**UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN**

**Summer Session, 1919**

**JUNE 30 TO AUGUST 8**

**(Law School, June 23 to August 29)**

**320 COURSES. 160 INSTRUCTORS.** Graduate and under-graduate work leading to the bachelor's and higher degrees. **LETTERS AND SCIENCE, MEDICINE, ENGINEERING, LAW AND AGRICULTURE** (including HOME ECONOMICS).

**TEACHERS' COURSES** in high school subjects. Strong programs in all academic departments. Exceptional research facilities.

**SPECIAL FEATURES.**—Agricultural Education; Americanization; Auto-engineering; Commercial and Industrial Geography; Commercial Correspondence and Advertising; Diplomacy of the War; Education; Festivals; French House; The Great War and Its Liquidation; History of the United States, 1898-1918; Heredity and Eugenics; Labor Problems and Industrial Service; Moral Education; Music; Practical Problems in Democracy; Romance Languages; School Relations; Vocational Education; The War and Political Reconstruction.

**FAVORABLE CLIMATE. LAKESIDE ADVANTAGES.**

One fee for all courses, \$15, except Law (10 weeks) \$25

For detailed announcements, address  
**Registrar, University, Madison, Wisconsin**

**Cornell University**

**SUMMER SESSION**

**July 5—August 15**

The following courses are offered in History, Government, and Economics:

Greek and Roman History; Oriental History—Professor Nathaniel Schmidt.

Modern European History; Historical Background of the War of 1914—Professor Bernadotte Everly Schmitt (Western Reserve University).

English History to 1485; English History since 1815—Professor A. H. Sweet.

American History, 1815-1850; American History, 1865-1914; Seminary—Professor J. P. Bretz.

American Government; Social and Political Institutions—Professor R. G. Gettell (Amherst College).

Principles of Economics—Professor H. J. Davenport.

Money and Credit; Theory and History of Banking; Corporation Finance—Professor H. L. Reed.

Elements of Accounting; Principles of Accounting—Professor Donald English.

General Problems of Industrial History; Social Problems in England in the Nineteenth Century—Professor A. P. Usher.

Special Opportunities for Graduate Work.

Full program will be sent on application to the  
**Secretary of the Summer Session, Ithaca, N. Y.**

## THE CONDUCT OF THE WAR

A series of articles by trained historical experts upon various phases of war activities will appear in

### THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK DURING 1919-1920

Among the articles already arranged for are the following:

*The Work of the Committee on Public Information During the War.* By PROF. GUY STANTON FORD, Professor of History in the University of Minnesota, and formerly chief of the Division of Education and Civic Cooperation of the Committee on Public Information.

*The German Press and the War.* By DR. VICTOR S. CLARK, in charge of examination of the enemy press for the National Board for Historical Service.

*The First Division's First Winter in Europe.* By RICHARD A. NEWHALL, Instructor in History in Yale University, Second Lieutenant in the Twenty-eighth United States Infantry, A. E. F., serving with the First Division from October, 1917, until May, 1918, and severely wounded at Cantigny on May 28, 1918.

*The Administration of Military Justice During the War.* By JESSE S. REEVES, Professor of Political Science in the University of Michigan, Major in U. S. A., and Judge Advocate of the Twentieth Division.

*Morale Work in an Army Camp.* By RALPH V. D. MAGOFFIN, Professor of History in Johns Hopkins University, and Major in U. S. A., Q. M. C.

*The Administration of Army Cantonments and Camps.* By the same.

*The Procurement and Purchase of Supplies for the Army.* By ALBERT L. SCOTT, formerly of the Council of National Defense.

*The Organization and Instruction in Aeronautics and Flying.* By HIRAM BINGHAM, Professor of History in Yale University and Lieut.-Colonel in the Aviation Service, lately Commander of the United States Flying School at Issoudon.

*Experiences of a Y. M. C. A. Man in Russian Siberia.* By THOMAS P. MARTIN, Secretary of the Harvard Commission on Western History.

*The Work of an Intelligence Officer at First Army Headquarters, A. E. F.* By JOHN C. PARRISH, formerly Captain in the U. S. A.

## Source Problems in United States History

By

ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN, WILLIAM E. DODD, MARCUS W. JERNEGAN, and ARTHUR P. SCOTT, of the Department of History of the University of Chicago

12mo. 514 pages List Price, \$1.30 net

In preparing these problems, the authors have felt it desirable to show differing points of view and conflicting tendencies. Careful study of these sources will show the student that things come to pass as the result of human endeavor and that important things are the products of differences of opinion.

### THE PROBLEMS ARE:

- I. The Battle of Lexington.
- II. The Preliminaries of the Revolution.
- III. The Power of a Court to Declare a Law Unconstitutional.
- IV. Religious Toleration and Freedom in Virginia, 1689-1786.
- V. Relation of Eastern States to the Development of the West, 1785-1832.
- VI. The Slavery Problem.
- VII. Fort Sumter and the Outbreak of the Civil War.

"This book is one among several evidences that we are making progress in teaching history. For it shows that some college teachers are frankly and fearlessly accepting the 'problem' method.

"The illustrative documents seem to have been selected with care, and the questions and suggestions have considerable pedagogical value."—*American Historical Review*.

Other volumes in HARPER'S PARALLEL SOURCE PROBLEMS SERIES, prepared under the advisory editorship of Dana C. Munro, of Princeton, are

### MEDIAEVAL HISTORY

FREDERIC DUNCALF  
University of Texas, and  
A. C. KREY  
University of Minnesota

### ENGLISH HISTORY

A. B. WHITE  
and W. NOTESTEIN  
University of Minnesota

### FRENCH REVOLUTION

F. M. FLING  
University of Nebraska

For further information address

**HARPER & BROTHERS :: Established 1817 :: NEW YORK**



## ANNOUNCEMENT OF POLICY AND CONTENTS OF THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK FOR 1919-1920

---

The policy, adopted by the editors several years ago, of using the knowledge of the past for an intelligent understanding of the present, will be continued in future issues of *THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK*. Among many articles of general interest the following may be mentioned:

**Accounts of Recent Activities of Federal Departments and Administrations**, similar in general character to the description of the Shipping Board which appears in this issue.

**Narratives of War Experiences of Historical Scholars**, recounting not personal experiences, but the relation of scholars to the varied activities of war times. Historians have been active in war welfare work, in the work of the Committee of Public Information, in the Historical Branch of the General Staff, in the Military Intelligence work, in the Department of Justice, in the preparations for the Peace Conference, and in the actual administration of military and civic undertakings. A series of interesting descriptions of such experiences will be published in *THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK* beginning in the fall of 1919.

**Historical Interpretations** of current events, such as those which have appeared from the pen of Professor Larson in the last five issues, will be continued.

**Current Historical Documents** and summaries will be presented. In forthcoming issues there will appear a valuable general summary of the work of the War Congress from April, 1917, to March, 1919; a digest of Executive Orders and Proclamations relating to the War; and other documents.

**Aids to Historical Specialists and History Teachers** will continue to occupy a large amount of the space in the paper. In addition to the bibliographical features which have been running in *THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK*, a monthly list of historical articles in current periodicals will be printed. This list and the list of current historical publications will be of much value to librarians, history teachers and historical scholars.

**Reports from the Committee upon Teaching History** will appear from time to time. *THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK* is the official organ of the committee.

Readers and subscribers to *THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK* are requested to co-operate with the management in bringing the paper to the attention of persons who would be interested in its contents. Sample copies will be cheerfully sent to any address and a **THREE MONTHS' TRIAL SUBSCRIPTION** can be obtained by new subscribers for **FIFTY CENTS**.

---

**McKINLEY PUBLISHING COMPANY**

1619 RANSTEAD STREET

PHILADELPHIA



# The Historical Outlook

Continuing The History Teacher's Magazine

Volume X.  
Number 6.

PHILADELPHIA, JUNE, 1919.

\$2.00 a year.  
25 cents a copy.

## War Tasks and Accomplishments of the Shipping Board

BY JAMES G. RANDALL, PH.D., SPECIAL EXPERT, UNITED STATES SHIPPING BOARD.

The Great War which was the first overseas conflict of large proportions in which the United States ever engaged, found the country under serious limitations in the vital matter of shipping. Though in the old days of the clipper ship the Stars and Stripes held a worthy place on the ocean paths, yet for over half a century the American merchant marine had been under an eclipse, and American capitalists had been content to pay foreign shipping freights while devoting their wealth to more immediately pressing needs at home. As a result, the nation was badly handicapped in 1917 as it faced two stubborn facts—the Atlantic Ocean and the submarine. To move the millions of troops which the desperate emergency demanded, furnishing them with the food, munitions and the equipment of modern warfare, and to help supply the world's appalling shortage of tonnage due to submarine destruction,<sup>1</sup> was therefore of the utmost importance in winning the war. The accomplishment of this task was the primary function of the United States Shipping Board.

Unlike other emergency organizations, the Shipping Board is not primarily a war agency. The act creating it was passed in September, 1916, when the shortage of shipping demanded vigorous measures to increase American tonnage. Only a minor part of the powers which the Board has been exercising during the war were conferred by the original Shipping Act. That Act gave the Board power to acquire ships by purchase, charter or otherwise, and authorized the creation of a government-controlled corporation for the construction and operation of vessels, but the Board was not to operate any ships through the corporation until after a *bona fide* effort had been made to place them with private shipping agencies. For the most part, the Act dealt with matters that have so far held only a secondary place in the Board's functions, such as the regulation of water carriers, the control of rates, the prevention of discrimination and the like.

<sup>1</sup> Now that the figures showing enemy sinkings have been made public, the appalling extent of submarine loss can be appreciated. In the one month of April, 1917, when the United States entered the war, over 870,000 gross tons were destroyed by submarines, and the loss of the Allies and neutrals through enemy action during the war amounted to 12,815,000 gross tons. (On June 30, 1914, the world's total of merchant steamers of 100 gross tons and over, excluding the fleets of Germany, Austria and Turkey, was approximately 42,615,000 gross tons.)

During the war various emergency powers in the control of shipping have been conferred upon the President, and through him upon the Board or its agency, the Emergency Fleet Corporation. These powers cover a wide range and include the authority to take over the output of any industrial plant or to take over the whole plant if necessary, to requisition ships either completed or under construction (giving just compensation therefor), to construct and operate ships with no other conditions than the financial limits of the appropriations, to commandeer property for developing housing facilities, and to control the transfer of vessels to foreign ownership. It is on the basis of these emergency powers—chiefly the Emergency Shipping Fund Provision of the Urgent Deficiencies Act of June 15, 1917—that the Shipping Board has carried on its work, rather than on the basis of the Shipping Act of 1916.

With these broad powers the Board has been able to mobilize completely the shipping resources of the country and to subordinate all private and foreign shipping interests within the land to the national purpose. Every available method was employed to keep the ships and facilities which we had and to acquire and produce more. The transfer of American tonnage to foreign flags was made conditional upon the Board's approval; construction for foreign account was checked; the admission of outside tonnage to the United States registry was encouraged; ships under construction for private and foreign account were commandeered; all American steamers except the smallest were brought under requisition (either as to use or as to title); enemy tonnage was seized, and neutral tonnage was obtained by chartering agreements or otherwise. Statistically speaking, the American ships under requisition in November, 1918, numbered 450 of 2,910,766 tons,<sup>2</sup> the

<sup>2</sup> The units here are dead-weight tons, which express the carrying capacity of the vessel, i.e., the number of tons (of 2240 pounds) that a vessel can carry when loaded to deep load line. Gross tonnage (commonly employed in English shipping publications) represents the total cubical contents expressed in "tons" of 100 cubic feet. It is determined by taking the number of cubic feet which measures the closed-in space of the vessel and dividing this number by 100. Dead-weight tonnage is approximately 150 per cent. of gross tonnage. Thus a cargo vessel of 4000 gross would measure about 6000 dead-weight. Throughout this article, where "tons" is used without further qualification, dead-weight tonnage is intended.

new vessels delivered and accepted by the Emergency Fleet Corporation totalled 531 of 3,005,706 tons, and there were 328 foreign ships of 1,366,361 tons under charter to the Board. Besides this, the Board had seized 97 enemy ships of nearly 700,000 tons, and 87 Dutch ships of 538,963 tons had been acquired. A comparatively small portion of the Board's tonnage had been lost and a considerable portion had been turned over to the Army or Navy. All told, the operating division of the Board had under its supervision a fleet of about 1,400 ships of 7,500,000 tons, and was thus by far the greatest ship operating organization that the country ever produced.

The above is a bare statement of the net result. The salient points in the attaining of this result were as follows: The Board in October, 1917, requisitioned for government account all vessels within the country of such type and size as to be available for the nation's use, paying their owners uniform charter rates that were reasonably profitable, though by no means so high as the excessive levels attained by unrestrained private interests operating under war conditions. To a considerable extent the operation of these ships, though on government account and under the Board's control, was entrusted to the companies which formerly owned them. The German ships (interned during the period of our neutrality) were of course seized by the government on the outbreak of war, and by this means a fleet of 90 steamers of excellent type and totalling 633,099 gross tons, besides a few sailing vessels, came into our possession. The formidable task of repairing the wilful damage on these ships, manning them and putting them into service was one of the first war tasks of the Shipping Board.

From the Japanese, 15 sizable ships were purchased at an expense of \$30,000,000, including repairs and other additional charges. By chartering agreements at inter-allied rates the use for six months of 23 Japanese ships, aggregating 151,278 tons, was secured, and contracts with Japanese shipbuilders provided for the construction of 45 steel vessels of 375,000 dead weight, in return for which licenses were granted for the exportation of steel on a definite ratio from the United States to Japan. Contracts were also made for the construction of a small number of ships in Chinese yards.

By various methods the use of neutral vessels was secured. After April, 1918, no charters of neutral vessels leaving American ports were approved by the Chartering Committee of the Board unless such vessels were chartered to the Shipping Board. Besides this, chartering agreements were made through the co-operation of the War Trade Board with the northern neutrals, Norway, Sweden and Denmark, which placed at the disposal of our Government well over a million additional tons.

The most important acquisition of neutral vessels was that of the Dutch. This was done by application of the belligerent right of *angary*—i.e., the right of a nation at war to seize and make temporary use of foreign vessels within its ports. An agreement

had been made with Holland by which her ships were to be chartered to the United States in exchange for supplies, but circumstances prevented the fulfillment of this agreement on the part of the Dutch, and as a last resort the President, by proclamation of March 20, 1918, authorized the seizure of Dutch vessels in American waters so far as they were needed in the prosecution of the war. The complicated problems connected with the repair of the 87 Dutch ships thus acquired, the compensation paid to the owners, the repatriation of the crews and the disposition of the cargoes were handled with the utmost consideration for the Dutch interests involved. Since the conclusion of hostilities, steps have been taken for the return of these ships to the Dutch owners.

From certain other sources, the country's tonnage was further increased, as by purchasing enemy ships in Brazil and Uruguay, taking over four ex-German boats from Cuba, and moving steamers from the Great Lakes to the ocean, until at the close of the war the seagoing merchant tonnage of the United States amounted to over 2,000 vessels of more than 7,000,000 dead-weight tons.

But the acquisition of new tonnage was not the only means of expanding the shipping capacity of the country. Quite as important was the conservation and maximum utilization of existing tonnage. This highly important duty was entrusted to the Shipping Control Committee, sometimes referred to as "the commercial strategists of the seas." The committee's main function was the expert allocation of tonnage to the various routes. Existing shipping was made as liquid as possible, and the shipping resources of the allied nations and of the United States were unified. Expert statistical studies were prepared for the committee by the Division of Planning and Statistics of the Shipping Board so as to indicate the tonnage requirements for essential imports. The committee's work was conducted primarily with a view to the military needs of the armies in Europe, but it was able so to increase the efficiency of shipping facilities as to take care also of many non-military but essential industrial requirements.

As a result of centralized control of shipping, the employment of the "marine skip-stop system" (which involved direct routing, unification of cargoes, full loading, and reduction of time in port), and by the use of progress charts and tabulations of vessel movements, the committee, in co-operation with the statistical experts, was able to double the efficiency of the available shipping.

The manning of our expanding fleet presented a difficult task. Americans are primarily landmen, and have not as a rule regarded a seafaring life as attractive. Our ships have been manned to a large extent with foreigners, and, though the Seamen's Act of 1915 has done much to Americanize our crews and the American merchant marine offers the best living conditions, the highest wages and the greatest freedom to be found under any flag, yet the supply of American seamen has lagged far behind the demand. In view of the enormous construction program of the



Emergency Fleet Corporation and the time required to make practical seamen, the need for an active policy along this line became evident.

It was for this purpose that the Recruiting Service of the Shipping Board was established. The arms of this agency reached throughout the country, and through it the men and officers for merchant ships were recruited, trained and placed in service. Some 6,000 enrolling agents in drug stores assisted in recruiting the men, and an effective system of emergency instruction was devised. Selected men of sea experience were trained in over thirty schools as officers in navigation and engineering, and men of no experience were put on training ships and given an intensive course occupying a month or six weeks under competent instructors, and trained as sailors, firemen, stewards, etc., after which they were put to sea as members of regular crews at a carefully determined ratio to experienced men. At this point began the most practical part of their training, which was to give the men their "sea legs." Over 10,000 officers had been trained, and over 30,000 men enrolled by the recruiting service when the armistice was signed. About 25,000 men had been placed in actual service on merchant ships.

The main line of distinction between naval and civilian manning was as follows: Transports and other ships turned over to the Navy were Navy manned, being operated by the Naval Overseas Transportation Service. They thus lost their character as merchant ships. Most of the vessels navigating the war zone were manned by naval complements, though a considerable number were under civilian crews. Of the seven million dead-weight tons constituting the United States deep sea fleet at the close of the war, about four and one-half million tons were manned by civilian crews, the rest being manned by the Navy. So far as possible, merchant vessels are now being restored to civilian manning.

In various other respects there has been a dovetailing of the work of the Navy Department and the Shipping Board. The Navy put the armament and armed guards on board vessels which entered the war zone, furnished the convoy to escort them and gave them the "dazzle painting" and other fantastic touches which the new art of camouflaging demands. Naval co-operation in wireless installation was also of value.

The main burden of the Board during the war was naturally the construction of new ships, this being the special task of the Emergency Fleet Corporation.<sup>3</sup> This Corporation was established as the constructing and operating agency of the Board in April, 1917, with a capital of \$50,000,000, all of which is held by the United States except one qualifying share each held by the six trustees. Every one of the members of the Shipping Board is a trustee and the Board's chairman is president of the Corporation. While the Corporation has its separate elaborate construction

organization in Philadelphia, with district offices throughout the country, the Division of Operations (legally a part of the Emergency Fleet Corporation) is located in Washington with the main offices of the Shipping Board.

The Emergency Fleet Corporation has a sort of double status. It functions as a private corporation, yet it is a government agency upon which the President has conferred far-reaching powers. Legal perplexities have arisen here and there because of this double status, but these have in no way hampered the Corporation's work.

The first few months of the Corporation's life was a time of hectic excitement and almost hysteria in the popular mind over the emergency task of bridging the Atlantic and creating the necessary tonnage quickly enough to outstrip the submarine whose inroads presented an appalling menace, and to bear across our brave boys without too great a reliance upon the shipping facilities of our Allies. After the Board and Corporation had been organized in the summer of 1917, the new chiefs took stock of all the known factors in the equation, made such assumptions for an uncertain future as would place them within the limits of safety, mapped out their program, and bent themselves to the task of organizing the country for the emergency production of ships.

There was no end of "problems" to be solved. How to strike the right balance between wood and steel hulls, how to conciliate the affected interests whose claims were often presented through congressional channels, how to develop scores of new shipyards, what types of ships to make, where to secure skilled men for the management of an industry in which the country had not kept pace with other great nations, how to house the thousands of workers suddenly mustered into cramped communities, how to standardize production so as to make the steel mills and shops tributary to the shipyards and speed the output, how to obtain steel and a multitude of other supplies in sufficient quantities and in proper sequence, how to frame contracts mounting into billions under highly abnormal circumstances with hundreds of shipbuilding concerns—all these and many other equally serious problems were involved in the shipbuilding program. At the time the Emergency Fleet Corporation took hold, the private shipbuilding facilities of the country were occupied largely with Navy work, and but few keels for modern steel ships could be laid until new yards were constructed, or at least until the existing plants were greatly expanded. This expansion of shipyard facilities is best indicated by the fact that the number of shipyards was increased during the war from 61 with 215 ways to 341 with 1,284 ways (completed or under construction), a five-fold increase between the declaration of war and the signing of the armistice. On the capitalistic side this achievement was made possible by the lending of government funds to private concerns, and advance payments were often made for vessels contracted for so that the funds could be used in improving and expanding the yards.

<sup>3</sup> The full official name is "The United States Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation."



The procedure of the Emergency Fleet Corporation represented a happy combination of governmental stimulation with private enterprise, for the private shipbuilders and the Corporation stood in the position of contractor and owner—i.e., the yards were under contract to build for the Corporation, the title of the completed ships passing to the United States. This enabled the government to control the shipbuilding industry while benefiting from the private energies thus enlisted. Another feature of this plan was that it contributed powerfully to the development of the private shipbuilding concerns so necessary for the ultimate success of an American merchant marine.

The emphasis was all along placed upon steel ships, as the experience of decades had shown their superiority over wooden vessels, but the emergency was so great that any kind of hull that would float and resist the waves would have to be used. There was, therefore, considerable activity in wood shipbuilding, but this side of the program did not in any way lessen the capacity for producing steel tonnage, the wood ships serving merely in a supplemental way and not as a substitute for the steel. Of the 576 ships completed by the Fleet Corporation during 1917 and 1918, 117 were wood and composite, while 459 were steel, the proportion of wood being even less, when tonnage, not number, is taken into account.

As to the soundness of the wood ships, the actual experience of their operation has not been so disappointing as is sometimes supposed. In a public statement by Chairman Hurley on March 28, 1919, the service of the wood ships is stated as follows:

"We all know that for most of the needs of modern ocean trade wooden ships are not as good as steel ships. There is no secret about that, and during the war you did not hear many protests against the building of wooden ships. We now have 115 wooden ships in service. We originally contracted for 703 of these vessels. We have cancelled and suspended 214 contracts. . . . The wooden ships we have will make many trips, and as an emergency ship they have been of great service. Although they are not suited to compete with fast steel liners in the trans-Atlantic trade, they will continue to be of service in trades where they are suitable. The existing world shortage of tonnage is sufficient guaranty of this. Insofar as seaworthiness is concerned, I wish to point out that while we have sustained four total marine losses among our wooden ships, we have sustained five among our steel ships. Of these total losses, one wood ship and one steel ship foundered at sea in heavy weather, so that on the score of seaworthiness the honors are even. The other total losses were due to stranding or collision, accidents as likely to happen to a steel ship as to a wooden ship, and which have no bearing whatever on the question of seaworthiness. At any rate, if this war had gone on until 1920 the wood ships might have made it possible to have won

the war, and then no one would have criticized the policy of building wooden ships."<sup>4</sup>

One of the interesting by-products of the war has been the development of the concrete, or (more accurately) the ferro-concrete hull. A ship of this type has a steel frame with concrete walls, and men of solid engineering experience are confident of its soundness. With a view to exploiting every possible resource, but with some thought also of caution in an experimental field, the Shipping Board caused various designs of concrete tankers and cargo carriers to be made, contracted for five government-owned concrete yards, and inaugurated a program calling for about forty vessels of this type, none of which have been completed at the present writing.<sup>5</sup> Contrary to the ordinary conception, a concrete ship treated with a coating that prevents corrosion and overcomes the porous character of the mixture is light and elastic, and is well able to stand the strain of sea service without cracking or leaking. Besides the obvious economy in material, this type of ship has other advantages. It can be put together very quickly and with a liberal use of unskilled labor, can be built in any part of the country, lends itself easily to the curving which is necessary in shaping the hull, and is less affected by vibration of machinery than steel or wood. On the whole, the stone ship gives promise of playing an important part in supplying the world's present need for tonnage.

As to the steel ships, upon which the most reliance was placed, the crucial problem was to secure "quantity production." For this purpose, it was soon found that the old methods of ship construction whereby each vessel was made on a special design, and each yard shaped all of its material, would not be adequate. Some new method had to be devised, and American genius conceived the "fabricating process." According to this plan which had never been applied before to shipbuilding, though it was a familiar device in the automobile and structural steel industry, the ships are fashioned on a simple standardized pattern, thus permitting the plates to be made, cut and punched in many fabricating shops and sent to the shipyards where they are erected into the completed ship. The yard is thus primarily a place for the assembling of the ship rather than the complete making of it. Besides accelerating production, this process has the further merits of furnishing work for many shops in the interior which would otherwise have had to close down, and of avoiding a very costly duplica-

<sup>4</sup> E. N. Hurley, "World Shipping Data: Report on European Mission" (32 pages, Washington, March 1, 1919).

<sup>5</sup> The only concrete ship as yet completed in an American shipyard is the "Faith," built in 1918 on the Pacific Coast for private owners, not for the Shipping Board. Four concrete cargo ships are now under construction for the Fleet Corporation, only one of which is nearing completion—namely, the "Atlantus," launched by the Liberty Company at Brunswick, Ga., on December 4, 1918. In addition, ten concrete tankers are being built. The rest of the original concrete program has been cancelled.

tion of shop installations and an overcrowding of the shipyard districts. In four shipyards—those at Hog Island and Bristol in Pennsylvania, at Newark, New Jersey, and at Wilmington, North Carolina—this fabricating process was employed, all of these yards bearing a particularly close connection with the Emergency Fleet Corporation.

That part of the shipbuilding program which received perhaps the greatest publicity was the part connected with the Hog Island plant, and it may well be worth while to dwell upon the activities of that plant for the light thus thrown on the whole vast problem of shipbuilding during the war. In September, 1917, the Hog Island site (near Philadelphia) was a low-lying unsanitary swamp—merely a strip of waste land. The following summer it stood forth as the greatest shipyard in the world, having 50 shipways, 7 outfitting piers, and 250 buildings, the whole covering an area of 846 acres. Modern sanitary engineering had given it a perfect drainage and water supply, and had abolished its flies and mosquitoes. Thirty thousand workmen were employed here, and huge quantities of steel were drawn from 38 mills to 88 fabricators and thence over 617 routes to the island. The contract of the Emergency Fleet Corporation with the American International Shipbuilding Corporation which built the yard called for 180 ships of 1,385,000 dead-weight tons. The amount of steel required to complete this order would produce 7 miles of 20-story buildings 100 feet deep, and the rivet holes punched therein (if a hole can be thought of as "covering" anything) would cover 24 acres. From this yard 20 vessels had been launched and 8 ships of 7500 tons each delivered by April 1, 1919. The first keel, that of the "Quistconck," was laid on February 12, 1918 (five months after the building of the yard had begun), and this vessel was delivered complete on December 3, 1918. Report and rumor has done injustice to the "Quistconck" which is a perfectly sound ship and received a high rating from Lloyds and from the American Bureau of Shipping. The testimony of her chief engineer is that the ship is thoroughly water-tight, has never developed rudder trouble or other navigating difficulties, and has not been in drydock since launching. Her performance in overseas cargo service has been thoroughly satisfactory.

The cost of the Hog Island plant, about \$66,000,000, was considerably in excess of the original estimate. This fact was seized upon by critics as evidence of improper management and various investigations resulted. People forgot that there are many unforeseen factors which develop in the process of building such an engineering enterprise, and that the magnitude of the accomplishment was a sufficient justification for the cost. The Panama Canal finally cost three times its original estimate, and required three times the expected period to build.

An amusing detail in the attack upon Hog Island arose from a certain Senator's statement that, according to an estimate which a young man had made for him, if dollar bills equal to the cost of Hog Island

were placed end to end they would girdle the earth 330 1-3 times at the equator. Checking up the young man's figures, the calculation was found to be in error to the extent of 100,000 per cent., and the true extent of this imaginary row of bills would have been less than one-third of the distance around the globe once. This naturally leads to a comparison between the simplicity of the mathematical task in which such an astonishing error was made and the complexity of the problem of those who had to contend with stubborn realities and reckon with a hundred uncertain factors in bringing the great shipyard to completion. Most of those who view the matter impartially feel that, as it stands, Hog Island needs no apology, and that even if it is to be converted into a terminal for commerce it will ultimately justify the expenditure.

It is hard to choose the terms in which to sum up the accomplishments of the United States along the lines of shipping and shipbuilding during the great war. The fact that the total American seagoing merchant fleet grew from 1614 ships of 3,569,675 gross tons to 2112 ships of 5,514,448 gross tons between April 6, 1917, and November 11, 1918, and that new construction under the control of the Emergency Fleet Corporation during the same period amounted to 490 ships of 1,937,661 gross tons is very significant. The acceleration of wood ship production to the point where an average of one wood ship a day was being produced in 1918 was also full of meaning. The launching of 100 ships on July 4, 1918, which was accomplished without holding back a single hull was a triumph of more than merely psychological importance. It is also significant to point to the various records that were broken—for instance, the completion of the "Crawl Keys," a 3350-ton steel ship, thirty working days from keel laying, the driving of 600 rivets by one gang in a day, or the unprecedented launching of five ships in five successive days from one yard, as was done at Hog Island, beginning December 27, 1918. The training of shipworkers in the yards (so that 48 per cent., for example, of the Hog Island riveters had gone through the Emergency Fleet Corporation School in that yard), is indicative of a large achievement. The absence of strikes and the excellent health standards maintained among shipworkers indicate success in difficult and important phases of administrative effort. But the sum of all such facts does not tell the whole story, for in reality the nation had hardly struck its stride in this job of shipbuilding as in so many other matters when the war ended. Production of completed ships in October, 1918, amounting as it did to 400,000 dead-weight tons, is significant not as the peak of actual achievement, but rather as the highest point so far reached in a rapidly rising scale, which, had the emergency continued, would have kept on rising until the 25,000,000 tons predicted for the American merchant marine in 1920 would doubtless have been realized.

Any true estimate of shipbuilding accomplishment under the direction of the Board and its Emergency Fleet Corporation must take into view certain con-

siderations which are ordinarily overlooked. Deliveries alone do not adequately measure accomplishments, and the progress made on uncompleted ships must be brought into the reckoning. Translating the work on undelivered ships into its equivalent in completed tonnage, and adding this to the finished vessels, we find that over 5,000,000 dead-weight tons were constructed in 1917 and 1918. A common misconception is to suppose that the "requisitioned tonnage"—i.e., the ships commandeered in course of construction—should be deducted in measuring the Corporation's achievement, crediting it only with the ships built entirely under its own contracts, whereas in reality

these commandeered ships were very far from completion when taken over, and nearly 90 per cent. of the construction work on this tonnage was carried on under the Corporation's direction. It must be further remembered that plans had to be laid for a long war and that the accelerated production possible for 1919 was due to the successful accomplishment of an extensive task of preparation which necessarily involved some delay in the fulfillment of its purpose. Finally, one must not forget that the very extensiveness of this uncompleted program, together with the steady progress that was being made toward its realization, had its not inconsiderable part in the winning of the war.

## The Money Cost of the War

BY PROFESSOR ERNEST L. BOGART, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS.

The costs of the war have been so commonly stated in terms of dollars, and the appeal for support of Government on the part of the average citizen has so frequently been made for subscriptions of money, that the idea is prevalent that the war has cost a certain amount of money, and that this measures the expenditures and the losses. Currency was given to this belief by a *mot* attributed to Lord Kitchener, who is reported to have said that three things were necessary to win the war: "Money, more money, and more money." The truth is, of course, that the war was fought by men with the aid of munitions, ships, airplanes, and everything that equipped, and clothed, and fed, and transported the army. Money was simply the medium by means of which the titles to these commodities was transferred from individuals to Government. The dollar was a convenient symbol which permitted the reduction of powder and cannon and labor and even life to a common denominator. After the suffering and privation of four and a half years of war, however, it is unlikely that anyone is misled by the fallacy that wars are fought with money. But as it is impossible in any other way to secure a common basis for comparison, the costs of the war are by general consent reduced to a money standard.

In the following article an effort is made to bring together some of the most trustworthy estimates as to the cost of the war. It will probably never be possible to state this exactly, as the breakup of states like Austria-Hungary and Russia have made it all but impossible to secure complete figures, and it is difficult to estimate the costs of countries which, like Brazil and Portugal, have participated to such a slight extent, if at all, in actual operations. Even the expenditures of the principal belligerents are far from exact, as it is difficult to say when the accounts should properly be closed, and at what date expenditures should be credited to civil account rather than that of the war proper. Estimates made by different writers based upon the same data will be found to

differ according as they end the war expenditures with the armistice, with the signing of the peace treaty, or with some other arbitrary date. But in such a gigantic total as that presented by the final aggregate costs of this war, a rough approximation only of the truth can be hoped for, and no great difference will be made if some of the items are omitted or fail of exactness.

Various estimates were made during the decade or two prior to 1914 as to the probable cost of a general European war. Such estimates were always made upon a per diem basis, as of course the total cost would depend upon the duration. The commonly accepted figure was the officially reported cost of the French army during the Franco-Prussian war which amounted to \$2.68 per day, or sometimes the German estimate of 10 marks per day, or \$2.38. This sum was multiplied by the number of fighting men and the total set down as the daily cost of the war. An Austrian economist estimated that a European war involving France, Russia, Germany and Austria would cost \$15,800,000 daily. A Swiss computation of September, 1914, made by a better informed writer, gave the total daily war expense for the same four nations as \$37,500,000. A French author, Bloch, writing somewhat earlier, had placed the total daily expenditures for the five great powers, England, France, Russia, Germany, and Austria, at about \$21,000,000 per day. How far short of the reality all these estimates were is seen from the fact that even the highest figure was exceeded by the daily expenditures of any one of the four principal belligerents. From the standpoint of costs alone, it is evident that the Great War stands out pre-eminent among all wars of history. The two most expensive wars of the nineteenth century—the Napoleonic and the American Civil Wars—cost respectively \$6,250,000,000 and \$7,000,000,000. A United States Treasury expert is responsible for the statement that the sum spent on the Great War would have financed every conflict since the fall of Carthage up to the summer of 1914.



"Yes, and I'll go farther," said the expert,<sup>1</sup> "this vast sum would have paid the cost of every war since Romulus and Remus settled at Rome, and would, in addition, have paid the costs of taking the children of Israel out of Egypt and putting them in the Holy Land; but, of course, it should be taken into consideration that a dollar to-day purchases a great deal less than in those times."

The total money costs of the war for all belligerents have been competently estimated by the Copenhagen War Study Society at \$18,785,000,000 for the first year, and \$33,065,000,000 for the second year.<sup>2</sup> For the third year the costs were estimated by another authority at \$39,247,900,000<sup>3</sup>, giving a total for the three years of \$91,097,900,000. The aggregate costs of the first three years were also given by the Liberty Loan Bureau of the United States Treasury Department as \$89,721,500,000. As these totals so nearly agree, either one may be accepted as approximately correct. According to figures compiled by the Swiss Bank of Geneva, the fourth year of war cost as much as the other three together, or about \$90,000,000,000, so that by August 1, 1918, the four years of war had cost the world \$180,000,000,000. The average daily costs of the war for the first four years was \$123,000,000; during 1918, the average daily expense rose to \$244,000,000. At this rate the war was costing more than \$10,000,000 an hour. It must be remembered, however, that the world-wide inflation of the currency which was taking place immensely increased the money costs of the war with each successive year. At the time the armistice was signed on November 11, 1918, the total costs were estimated by the United States federal reserve board at \$200,000,000,000. The most recent estimate, by Edgar Crammond,<sup>4</sup> a well-known English statistician, placed the final direct costs of the war at \$210,175,000,000, to which sum he added another \$50,000,000,000 as the indirect costs, including destruction of property, loss of ships at sea, etc. The distribution of the costs among the principal belligerents was approximately as follows to January 1, 1919:

United States .....	\$22,589,986,000
Great Britain .....	41,500,000,000
France .....	26,800,000,000
Russia .....	21,500,000,000
Italy .....	12,000,000,000
Belgium, Serbia, Roumania .....	7,100,000,000
<b>Total Entente Allies .....</b>	<b>\$131,489,986,000</b>
Germany .....	\$40,250,000,000
Austria .....	20,000,000,000
Turkey, Bulgaria .....	2,000,000,000
<b>Total Central Powers .....</b>	<b>\$62,250,000,000</b>
<b>Grand Total .....</b>	<b>\$193,739,986,000</b>

<sup>1</sup> *Washington Star*, November 19, 1918.

<sup>2</sup> Bulletin of the Copenhagen War Study Society, March, 1916, page 2.

<sup>3</sup> *New York Sun*, July 29, 1917.

<sup>4</sup> Address before Institute of Bankers in London, March 26, 1919, Associated Press Dispatch.

The payment of indemnities may effect a redistribution of these costs, but can of course in no way reduce the total.

It should be noted that all the figures thus far given cover only the direct money outlays of the countries involved, and do not take into account the indirect costs, such as the destruction of property, the depreciation of capital, loss of production, interruption to trade, and similar items. It has been estimated<sup>5</sup> that these would amount to as much again as the direct costs. If this estimate, which was made early in the war and is undoubtedly too high, be accepted, it would bring the total cost to all the belligerents to about \$400,000,000,000. And in this staggering total, there are not included the expenditures or losses of neutral nations, which have been very real and in some cases very serious, nor the loss of human life, nor of subsequent burdens such as pensions and allowances.

On the other hand, certain deductions should be made which will reduce somewhat the real costs. In the first place, not all of the war expenditure is pure loss. Some expenditures are simply transferred from the family budget to that of the state, soldiers are fed, clothed and housed at the expense of the Government, and the bill is paid out of taxes or loans. Other expenses are positively productive, such as the building of railways or merchant vessels. And in the second place, it is quite obvious that a partial explanation of the costs of the war lies in the depreciation of the money unit. Measured in dollars the expenditures were mounting steadily and rapidly. Measured in terms of service and commodities the increase was much less rapid. It has been estimated by the editor of the *London Statist*<sup>6</sup> that the net cost of the war to the belligerents is about one-half of its total costs. If this generalization be accepted as correct and one-half of the direct costs be subtracted, there is left as the real economic cost of the war<sup>7</sup> \$300,000,000,000.

But after all deductions and allowances are made, the economic cost remains an appalling one, and even this does not take into account the effect of the war on life, human vitality, economic well-being, ethics, morality, or other phases of human relationship and activity which have been disorganized and injured. It is evident from the present disturbances in Europe that the real costs of the war cannot be measured by the direct money outlays of the belligerents during the four and a half years of its duration, but that the very breakdown of modern economic society may yet be the price exacted.

<sup>5</sup> E. Crammond, "The Cost of the War," in *Journal Royal Stat. Soc.*, May, 1915, page 398.

<sup>6</sup> *The Statist*, October 23, 1915, page 181.

<sup>7</sup> E. L. Bogart, "Direct Costs of the Present War," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, 1918, page 43.

## A Few Territorial Problems

BY PROFESSOR LAURENCE M. LARSON, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS.

It is likely that the future historian will look back to the month of April, 1919, with great interest. The tide of revolution was still rolling outward. The news columns were filled with reports of strikes, uprisings, and border warfare. It was a month of growing dissatisfaction and of deepening despair; but it was also a month of signal achievement, of real progress in the direction of peace.

The disturbed state of feeling in the world at large was reflected at the peace conference, where conflicting forces suddenly came to a focus and threatened for a time to kindle a new war. Still the work went forward, and at the present writing it is reported that only one serious problem remains to be solved, that of Fiume, and that the conference is ready to discuss results with the German envoys.

There have been many difficult questions to settle at Paris, but a few have proved peculiarly troublesome, not because they are more intricate than certain others, but because of the temper in which they have been approached by interested parties. Various delegations have insisted that the treaty must be drawn so as to bring certain definite advantages to their respective nationalities, and the result was a crisis precipitated on April 23 by President Wilson's public statement on the matter of the Adriatic coast, the first real crisis of the conference.

### I. THE SECRET TREATIES.

In its efforts to redraw the boundaries of Europe, the conference encountered four stubborn difficulties that threatened seriously to disturb the friendship of the Allied Nations; these were the problems of Danzig, Teschen, Fiume, and the Saar Valley. Some of these were further complicated by certain treaties and covenants dating from the earlier years of the war.

In November, 1917, M. Trotzky, who at the time was in charge of the Russian foreign office, began to publish in the newspaper *Izvestiya* a series of confidential documents which showed that the Allies had entered into a number of secret engagements, all of which were of great interest. The series when complete was found to comprise eight separate agreements involving territorial arrangements of the first importance.

1. The Rhinelands. Early in 1917 it was apparently agreed that Alsace-Lorraine should be restored to France, and that the Republic should also be allowed to annex the Saar valley. It was further agreed (at least Russia assented) that the German territories west of the Rhine should be made into a neutral state wholly separate from Germany.

2. The Adriatic coast. On April 26, 1915, Russia, France, Great Britain and Italy entered into an agreement according to which Italy was to join in the war in return for certain territorial compensation; Italy was to receive the Trentino and southern Tyrol

to the Brenner Pass, Trieste and Istria, a considerable part of the Dalmatian coast, including a number of islands, and the twelve islands in the Aegean Sea which she had seized in the Libyan War. There were other stipulations, but these are the more important.

3. Unredeemed Rumania. Final arrangements for Rumania's participation in the war were made on August 18, 1916, when the Allies agreed that she might occupy and annex all those parts of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy that have a Rumanian population—the Banat, Transylvania, and a part of Bukovina.

4. The "East Front." In March, 1916, the Russian foreign office stated that it insisted on "the exclusion of the Polish question from the subjects of international discussion," and a year later the French government agreed that Russia should have "complete liberty in establishing her western frontiers."

5. Constantinople and the Straits. In March, 1915, Russia expressed her "desire" to annex Constantinople and the European shore of the Straits (apparently all of European Turkey) to which France and England agreed with certain reservations.

6. Asiatic Turkey. A year later (March, 1916) the partition of Asiatic Turkey was agreed upon; Russia was to receive lands in Armenia, England to occupy the Bagdad region, and France to have territories in Syria and the regions to the north and northeast. The greater part of Asia Minor was evidently reserved to the Turk. The plan also called for an Arab state in the regions east of Syria.

7. Persia. In March, 1915, the Russian government formally agreed that England might extend her sphere of influence over the greater part of the neutral strip in central Persia which had not been appropriated when the Anglo-Russian *entente* was negotiated in 1907.

8. China. A few months later (July 3, 1916) Russia entered into an alliance with Japan to safeguard China "against the political domination by any third power entertaining hostile designs towards Russia or Japan."

9. The German colonies in the Far East. Recently another secret understanding has come to light. This was to the effect that the German interests in the Shantung peninsula (China) and the German islands in the Pacific north of the equator should be transferred to Japan.

Like many other unlovely things the secret treaties were products of the Great War. They seemed necessary to the successful termination of the war. The Allies needed the assistance of Italy and Rumania, and it was felt that Russia must at all costs be kept loyal to the purposes of the *entente*.

At the same time it is clear that some of the agreements were accepted with great reluctance by the western powers. Only dire necessity could force England to agree to the demands of Russia in the Near East. With a strong Russia at the Dardanelles and at the head waters of the Tigris, the British Empire would be facing a dangerous situation on the route to India.

It will be noted that Russia was a party to all but one of these agreements. Consequently, when the Soviet republic withdrew from the war, at least four of the secret treaties were annulled. Another passed out of existence when Rumania submitted to the Central powers. If the agreement as to the partition of Turkey had any validity after the Russian withdrawal, it must have been cancelled entirely when the new plans as to the Holy Land were announced. It seems that the Italians virtually repudiated the treaty of London when they insisted on Fiume, which the treaty gives to Croatia. It is also a serious question whether the arrangement as to the Rhinelands may be regarded any longer as having the force of a treaty.

But, whether valid or not, the secret treaties still remain as indications of imperialistic ambitions, which in certain quarters appear to retain all their earlier vigor.

## II. THE SAAR VALLEY.

Public opinion in the Allied countries was prepared for the immediate re-annexation of Alsace-Lorraine to the French republic, but the efforts of the French to secure the Saar valley was not received with favor. Very few had read the secret treaties, and those who had did not take them very seriously; consequently, the demand for additional territorial compensation created real surprise.

The Saar is a small river that rises in the Vosges and flows for about one hundred miles in a general northerly direction into the Moselle. For some thirty miles its course runs almost parallel to the northeastern boundary of Lorraine, and only a dozen miles distant. The annexation of the Saar valley would thus mean the extension of the territory of Lorraine northeastward into the Prussian Rhineland.

The region coveted is not extensive, but it is an area of considerable economic importance. The secret agreement of February, 1917, relating to the eastern boundary of France provides "for the inclusion in France . . . of the entire coal district of the Saar valley." The Saar and Lorraine coal fields lie in a strip of territory about seventy-five miles long by twenty-two miles wide, extending northeastward from the neighborhood of Toul to St. Wendel and beyond, the greater part of which lies within the limits of Lorraine. The distinctly Prussian section of the Saar coal fields covers an area of about six hundred square miles only, but the mines in this area are exceedingly rich.

As the valley in question has an exclusively German population, the French claim cannot be based on the principle of nationality. The only possible basis is economic necessity, the need for a larger coal field. Efforts have also been made to show that France has

"historic rights" to the Saar valley, but the results have not been very impressive.

It is not known definitely how the peace conference will dispose of claims to the Saar basin; but it has been reported that the region will be placed under international control for a term of years during which period the French will be allowed to operate the coal mines.

## III. TESCHEN.

"Before I went to the peace conference," said David Lloyd George, in a recent speech in parliament (April 16), "I had never heard of Teschen, but it very nearly produced an angry conflict between two Allied states."

In her struggle with Frederick II, Maria Theresa saved a small part of upper Silesia which has since been known as Austrian Silesia. This is a narrow strip of territory about a hundred miles in length with an area of less than 2,000 square miles. The best available language maps show that the western part is of German nationality, the central part Bohemian, and the eastern part Polish.<sup>1</sup> One-third of the population speaks the Polish language and a little more than one-fifth the Bohemian.

Teschen is a thriving industrial city of some 20,000 inhabitants, of whom about one-half are Germans. It is situated in the area of Polish speech, and if the principle of nationality is to govern, it will be assigned to Poland. The problem of Teschen and the surrounding district involves the political fate of 200,000 Poles who naturally desire Polish citizenship.

But now it happens that Austrian Silesia is rich in mineral resources, especially in coal and iron. The Czechs, who are laying the foundations of a new Bohemian state, are consequently anxious to make their share of the province as large as possible. They, too, have appealed to "historic rights," to connections and boundaries in the distant past; but the principal argument is economic necessity, an argument that is also employed by the Poles.

It is reported that the peace conference has refused to sit in judgment on the dispute about Teschen, but has ordered the contending states to find their own basis of agreement.

## IV. DANZIG.

It is the purpose of the peace conference to establish a strong Poland. To draw satisfactory boundaries for the new Polish state has doubtless been a difficult task, as the national frontiers on the great European plain are somewhat blurred.

But even more perplexing has been the problem how to give Poland direct access to the sea. The Poles hoped to secure a route to the ocean by way of the Vistula, which, they insist, is a Polish river and should be under their control throughout its entire course. From their viewpoint Danzig at the mouth of the Vistula is the natural outlet.

<sup>1</sup> Dominian, "Frontiers of Language and Nationality," 82; Shepherd, "Historical Atlas," 168.



It is true that both banks of this river have a Polish population to a point some distance below Thorn, or about one hundred miles from its mouth. Along the lower course between Thorn and the Baltic, the Polish population occupies a strip of land from twenty to fifty miles wide lying along the west bank of the river, while the opposite bank is occupied almost exclusively by Germans. The Poles insist that this strip of territory is not only essentially Polish, but is necessary to their economic life and to the successful defense of their country.

For several centuries this area was a part of the Polish kingdom, but was taken by the Prussians in the partitions of Poland in the eighteenth century. To return what territory is still Polish in sentiment seems, therefore, an act of justice merely. Still, there are certain conditions in this region that have made the problem a very perplexing one.

(1) If Poland is given this "corridor" to the sea, that part of Prussia east of the Vistula will be completely separated from the rest of Germany. It is inconceivable that the Germans will remain satisfied with this condition. The Poles are therefore likely to find that the possession of this strip is a danger as well as an advantage.

(2) The territory, while largely Polish in population, is not exclusively so; it has a strong German minority, which in certain sections is almost as strong as the Slavic majority.

(3) Danzig seems necessary to Polish economic life; but Danzig is essentially a German city, nine-tenths of its population being German in race and speech. At the same time it must be remembered that the prosperity of Danzig is based largely on the great trade that flows toward it from the valley of the Vistula.

At the present writing the indications are that Poland will be given a corridor to the Baltic, but not Danzig, which may be made an international port.

#### V. FIUME.

By the pact of London (secret treaty of April 26, 1915) the east coast of the Adriatic Sea was roughly divided into four parts along the following lines:

(1) The Austrian coast land from the Italian boundary to the vicinity of Fiume was to be added to Italy.

(2) The Hungarian (Croatian) coast, including Fiume, was left to Croatia without restrictions.

(3) The Dalmatian coast to the promontory of Planka (between Sebenico and Spalato) was promised to Italy.

(4) The remainder of Dalmatia excepting a limited area in the neighborhood of Ragusa was to be "neutralized." A number of large islands along the coast were also to be given to Italy.

At the time the Dual Monarchy was still a great power and the union of the Jugo-Slavs merely a dream. Since then great events have occurred: the Hapsburg empire has disappeared, and the dream has become a reality.

A few months ago the Italian government began to suggest a revision of the pact of London. It was then argued that Fiume was an Italian town, that it was necessary to Italy, and that it consequently must be added to her new Istrian province.

It is difficult to ascertain the truth about Fiume. According to Hungarian statistics the Italians are in the majority in the city proper (24,000 of a total of 46,000), but not when the suburban districts are included. The surrounding territory is overwhelmingly Slavic.

From the great Slavic, Austrian, and Hungarian hinterland two railways, and only two, find their way to the Adriatic with terminals at Trieste and Fiume. It is readily seen that the power that controls these two ports can to a large extent shape the economic development of the neighboring lands to the east and southeast. From a naval standpoint the possession of the great harbor of Fiume is also exceedingly important.

To the Jugo-Slav this condition takes on the appearance of economic serfdom, and he protests against the loss of his only real seaport. There are at least eight fairly promising ports on the old Austro-Hungarian coast; but Italy claims Trieste, Pola, Fiume, Zara, and Sebenico. Spalato and Cattaro, if the treaty of London is carried out, will be neutralized. Ragusa alone remains untrammelled, an old decayed town, without a railway, and with a very doubtful future. To develop a new port is a long and expensive task, while Fiume with its railway, its three harbors, and its commercial organizations is already a port of importance.

Thus the matter stands at the present writing. Meanwhile the diplomats are anxiously striving to devise a formula that shall prove acceptable to both parties. It is quite possible that Fiume may find a place along with Danzig, the Saar valley, and possibly Constantinople, as international territory under the control of the League of Nations.

Marcel Knecht's able article on President Poincaré, the first of his articles on "The French Peace Commissioners," which appears in the *North American Review* for April, is an appreciation and an interpretation rather than a biographical sketch.

"The League and the Covenant," by Sir Herbert Stephen in the *Nineteenth Century* for March, is a reply to the articles by Charles Mallet, Sir Charles Walston and General Smuts on this subject, and a vindication of the author's treatise on the subject which appeared in the January issue of this magazine, and he concludes by saying: "The League of Nations . . . being an essentially divided authority, may perhaps gradually fall into incompetence, and be allowed to dissolve itself without the occurrence of a greater number of wars or wars of more widely spread destruction than the history of mankind would lead us to expect in the normal course of events during the next century or two."

"When the Austrian Drive Failed," by W. Houston Kenyon, in the *Harvard Graduates' Magazine* for March, is an account of a participant in the Italian defensive.

## A New Internationalism

BY THOMAS WARRINGTON GOSLING, SUPERVISOR OF SECONDARY EDUCATION, STATE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, MADISON, WISCONSIN.

Another act in the drama of the world is closed. Like all the acts that have preceded, it is both a consequence and a cause. It is a consequence of forces set in motion long ago, and it will itself release other forces the end of which no man can now foresee.

Slowly and painfully through the centuries civilization has been advancing step by step towards the attainment of its ideals. The progress has not been without interruptions. The selfishness of individuals and of nations has interfered frequently as a bar to the fulfilment of the best hopes of the world. The song which the angels sang on the first Christmas morning—"Peace on earth, good-will to men"—was a prophecy which brings balm to troubled hearts to-day as it did to the shepherds who heard it first on the plains of Judea over nineteen hundred years ago. As we look back over the years, we can see the progressive realization of this prophecy by the fulfilment of purposes which are founded in righteousness and which ultimately will save the world from its sorrows.

If we are to hold fast to this faith in the gradual evolution of good, we must think of the agonies of the past four years in no other way than as the painful but necessary effort of the enlightened nations to maintain the ideals of civilization against the selfish and the sinful purpose of Germany to overthrow them. Let us have no confusion of issues. Germany willed the war. Out of pride of power and lust of conquest Germany brought upon the world horror, frightfulness, and misery beyond all human belief. The intentions and the deeds of the Prussian War Lords were such as we associate with the time of Attila and the Genghis Khan. She represented the old order of things as opposed to the new. With the crushing of her power for evil we witness the passing of that old order and all that it represents, and with expectant hearts we stand on the threshold of a new era rich in promise for the welfare of mankind.

### A SOCIETY OF NATIONS.

The assertion that Germany represented the old order rests upon the historic fact that most of the nations of antiquity and of the early part of the Middle Ages were independent sovereignties which recognized no community of interests and of laws.

*The society of nations is of modern origin*

The Amphietyomic Council of ancient Greece represented an early effort to organize an international society. But since this Council had

only a very limited scope and since its decrees were so frequently violated as to be quite ineffectual in regulating the interrelations of the states which com-

posed it, it has had but very little permanent effect upon the development of the society of nations. "International law in the meaning of the term as used in modern times did not exist during antiquity and the first part of the Middle Ages. It is in its origin essentially a product of Christian civilization, and began gradually to grow from the second half of the Middle Ages. But it owes its existence as a systematized body of rules to the Dutch jurist and statesman, Hugo Grotius, whose work, "De Jure Belli ac Pacis libri III," appeared in 1625, and became the foundation of all later development."<sup>1</sup>

When Germany refused to be bound by the generally accepted rules of international law—rules to which she had given her assent—she put herself back into the category of the nations of the past which knew no law but the law of might, and which sought for their deeds no sanction outside of their own sovereignty. By her behavior Germany has indicated that she has not entered into the rich inheritance of the modern civilized world. "As international law is a product of the civilization of modern Europe, and forms a highly artificial system of which the principles cannot be supposed to be understood or recognized by countries differently civilized, such states only can be presumed to be subject to it as are inheritors of that civilization."<sup>2</sup> Though a member of the modern society of nations, Germany has repudiated all her obligations to this society, and has endeavored to substitute her own will for the collective will of the group. This repudiation is characteristic of the practices of nations in the remote past before a society of nations had come into being. It is not characteristic of our modern Christian civilization which recognizes common rights and common duties.

It is a fact that a society of nations exists, although this society has not yet been organized. The interrelations of states through commerce, travel, intermarriage, and religion, and through the community of interests created by scientific, literary, and philosophic studies have created social obligations which are in themselves both the effect and the cause of a certain kind of international solidarity. No modern civilized state can be wholly self-contained. Even though it were possible for a state to supply all of its material needs without dependence upon assistance outside of its own borders, it still would be dependent upon others for

<sup>1</sup> L. Oppenheim, "International Law," Vol. 1, p. 4. (Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1912.)

<sup>2</sup> W. E. Hall, "International Law," p. 39. (Sixth edition. The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1909.)

some of the ideas which supply the food of the mind, and of which no one state can have a complete monopoly. Therefore, although it is possible for a nation to enjoy the benefits of international society without responding to the obligations which these benefits impose, the refusal to share in the duties as well as in the privileges is not a negation, but rather an affirmation of the social compact. The commercial and the industrial greatness of modern Germany was due to her connections with other nations. From them she received many of the raw materials which other parts of the world supply in abundance, and to them she sold the finished products of her shops and factories. Without these social connections the wealth and the power of Germany never could have been developed. If anything were wanting to show that Germany herself recognized the existence of that very society of nations which she was seeking to destroy, it is supplied in the fact that on occasion when she felt the futility of her efforts to control the actions of her enemies and knew that the tide of war was turning against her, she raised a pitiable voice of protest in the name of international law against certain practices of which she did not approve. The would-be assassin of society called upon its intended victim for protection.

If the society of nations were to be destroyed, we should revert to the barbarism of ancient times. Surely the world does not wish to see a recrudescence of savagery. On the part of America and the Entente Allies, therefore, the war was a righteous war, for it definitely removed the danger of a return to the practices of the old order when might made right.

#### WHAT IS INTERNATIONAL LAW?

Since the international society is still in its formative state, the laws which govern the relations of the members of this society to one another are lacking in precision and in completeness. But it is impossible to have any kind of society without some form of law. This inevitable connection between social organization and law was formulated long ago in the Latin maxim, "*Ubi societas ibi jus est*"—wherever there is society there is law. This maxim is quite as applicable to the sphere of international relations as to the more restricted realm of national or municipal interests.

The foundation of international law is laid in the necessity of intercourse among nations, in the desire to render this intercourse safe and agreeable, and in the sense of right and of justice which prompts nations, as it prompts individuals, to observe the principles of decency and of morality. There is no international legislature to enact the law for a society of nations; nor is there any international executive with power to enforce the law. And yet the law exists and it is enforced.

What is international law? "In 1896 Lord Russell, of Killowen (the Lord Chief Justice of England) gave this simple definition: The rules accepted by

civilized states as determining their conduct towards each other."<sup>3</sup> Another authority gives a somewhat fuller statement as follows: "International law consists in certain rules of conduct which modern civilized states regard as being binding on them in their relations with one another with a force comparable in nature and degree to that binding the conscientious person to obey the laws of his country, and which they also regard as being enforceable by appropriate means in case of infringement."<sup>4</sup> One of our foremost American jurists says that international law consists of "those rules of conduct which reason deduces, as consonant to justice, from the nature of the society existing among independent nations; with such definitions and modifications as may be established by general consent."<sup>5</sup>

International law, then, depends for its validity upon the consent of independent nations. It assumes

*The assent of free and equal nations is necessary* that nations have a moral sense which will hold them to their agreements, and it assumes likewise an equality of all in respect of the law.

The government of the United States early in its history gave formal recognition to this equality of states as one of the fundamental propositions of international law. This recognition was expressed in a decision of Chief Justice Marshall of the Supreme Court as follows: "No principle of general law is more universally acknowledged than the perfect equality of nations. Russia and Geneva have equal rights. It results from this equality that no one can rightfully impose a rule on another. Each legislates for itself, but its legislation can operate on itself alone."

If it could be shown that Germany did not consent to the principles of international law as they were accepted by the nations that were arrayed against her, we could not charge her with an infraction of the law, although we still should have nothing but contempt for her moral obliquity. But Germany can not make the defense that she did not accept the laws which were accepted by the other nations. She has dissented, to be sure, in the case of certain particular laws which she did not approve. Other nations, including the United States, have dissented under similar circumstances. Germany, however, like all the other great nations, has given her assent to the main body of international law. In addition to the treaties she has signed and the negotiations she has conducted in conformity with accepted principles, the world has her explicit adhesion to the international compact in her ratification of The Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907.

<sup>3</sup> Wheaton, "International Law." Fifth edition by Coleman Phillipson, p. 22. (Stevens & Sons, Ltd., London, 1916.)

<sup>4</sup> W. E. Hall, "International Law," p. 1. (Sixth edition. The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1909.)

<sup>5</sup> Wheaton, "Internat. Law," Fifth edition by Coleman Phillipson, p. 22. (Stevens & Sons, Ltd., London, 1916.)



One of the outstanding purposes of international law is to regulate the conduct of states in time of war as well as in time of peace. "International law as

*International law restricts the brutality of war*

applied to war thus consists in customary rules by which the maximum of violence which can be regarded as necessary at a given time is deter-

mined."<sup>6</sup> Though war is cruel and frightful under all conditions, its horrors may be reduced by a humane limitation upon the fury of the combatants. The agreements which have been entered into for the protection of the work of the Red Cross, for the treatment of prisoners of war, and for the prohibition of the bombardment of unfortified towns are but a few of the evidences that civilized states have attempted to apply even to so brutal a thing as war some of the principles of mercy and of compassion. "The mitigation of war must depend on the parties to it feeling that they belong to a larger whole than their respective tribes or states, a whole in which the enemy, too is comprised, so that duties arising out of that larger citizenship are owed even to him."<sup>7</sup> "The existence, in geographical proximity to the international society, of a state which was not bound by its rules, would be a source of intolerable inconvenience and danger to the members of the society. The social nature of man lies at the bottom of these reasons."<sup>8</sup>

In the light of recent events we see now that Germany did not consider herself bound by her pledges beyond the time when it was convenient for her to observe them. She did not have any proper realization of the meaning of equality among independent nations. Her great power, she believed, raised her above the limitations of all law and of all honor. "In the fixed belief of the German leaders and most of their people, Germany is not a country having equal rights among equals, but the home of a superior race entitled to impose its own policy and methods on the rest of the world by the use of any requisite degree of force, and not bound to treat men of inferior races as human beings unless and until they behave as docile subjects. Germany has rights in virtue of a paramount mission to Prussianize the world. Germany's allies have rights because they are her allies. Neutrals have just what Germany chooses to allow them, and enemies have none."<sup>9</sup>

To destroy this illusion and to re-establish the reign of law in the society of nations is one effect of the war now so happily ended. If the liberal nations of the world can consolidate their gains and give to the moral sanctity of international law the validity which comes from a fear of violation, the great sacrifices of the past

*The war has vindicated the moral order of the world*

four years will not be in vain. From now on the world will know that the sins of nations, like the sins of individuals, bring their inevitable punishment; that nations, like individuals, may establish a character which stands for honor and for fair dealing; and that there is "a power which makes for righteousness"—a power which in perfect justice sustains the righteous among nations as among individuals, and casts down the sinful from their high places.

#### THE SOURCES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW.

If the society of nations has no organization which can enact laws, it becomes a matter of considerable importance to know how these laws originate. In the absence of legislative authority there must be some other source or sources to give them validity. Wheaton<sup>10</sup> enumerates six of these sources as follows:

1. "The writers of authority, showing what is the approved usage of nations, or the general opinion respecting their mutual conduct, with the definitions and modifications introduced by general consent.
2. "Treaties of peace, alliance, and commerce declaring, modifying, or defining the pre-existing international law.
3. "Ordinances of particular States prescribing rules for the conduct of their commissioned cruisers and prize tribunals; also proclamations, decrees, and instructions issued to the various departments of government or to the people at large.
4. "The adjudications of international or quasi-international commissions of inquiry, and courts of prize.
5. "Another depository of international law is to be found in State papers and diplomatic correspondence representing the views of ministers and statesmen, as well as in the written opinions of official jurists that are given confidentially to their own governments.
6. "The history of the wars, negotiations, treaties of peace, and other transactions relating to the public intercourse of nations."

Some writers have endeavored to show that the Law of Nature is the source of international law; and that the Law of Nature is founded upon the principles of right and of justice as these are implanted by God in the hearts of men. Others have maintained that international law is nothing more than a group of conventions

and usages which nations have adopted for their own convenience in order to regulate their dealings with one another. Neither of these theories is adequate. It is undoubtedly true, as Hall and others assert, that the established and accepted usages and agreements of nations constitute the most positive and practical part of international law. It is equally true that in spite of numerous deviations from the prescriptions of a moral code for the sake of national advantages, there has been an undefined and subtle but none the

<sup>6</sup> W. E. Hall, "A Treatise on International Law," p. 63. (The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1909.)

<sup>7</sup> Westlake, "Principles of International Law," p. 267. (The University Press, Cambridge, 1894.)

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 79.

<sup>9</sup> The Right Hon. Sir Frederick Pollock in Introduction to Wheaton's "International Law," pp. XXXIX-XL.

<sup>10</sup> Wheaton, "International Law." Fifth edition by Phillipson, pp. 22-31. (Stevens & Sons, Ltd., 1916.)

less real effort among Christian civilized nations to seek justice and righteousness in their international affairs. Morality has been one of the motives to action. Where this motive has not been present, as in the case of Germany, the result has been to visit the reprobation of the civilized world upon the offender. "We ought not, therefore," says Kent,<sup>11</sup> "to separate the science of public law from that of ethics, nor encourage the dangerous suggestion that governments are not so strictly bound by the obligations of truth, justice, and humanity, in relation to other powers, as they are in the management of their own local concerns. States, or bodies politic, are to be considered as moral persons, having a public will, capable and free to do right and wrong."

#### THE EARLY NEUTRALITY OF THE UNITED STATES.

When the war broke upon the world in 1914, it found the United States unexpectant and unprepared. We were shocked and stunned. We stood aghast at what seemed to us the amazing insanity of the nations of Europe. In accordance with the provisions of international law and of the "Penal Code of the United States," the President promptly issued proclamations of neutrality immediately after the various declarations of war which followed one another in rapid succession on the other side of the ocean. One paragraph common to these various proclamations of the President, the first of which was issued on August 4, 1914, reads as follows:

"And I do further declare and proclaim that the statutes and the treaties of the United States and the law of nations alike require that no person, within the territory and jurisdiction of the United States, shall take part, directly or indirectly, in the said wars, but shall remain at peace with all of the said belligerents, and shall maintain a strict and impartial neutrality."

There can be little doubt that the vast majority of the citizens of the United States accepted without reserve the President's official proclamation of neutrality and took keen satisfaction in that physical, if not moral, isolation of America which made it possible for us to escape the horrors of the European conflict.

In order to make more secure the neutral position of the United States, on the eighteenth of August, when the war had not much more than begun, the President issued an "appeal for impartiality and restraint in discussing the war." After setting forth the dangers attendant upon divided opinions, the address proceeded as follows:

"I venture, therefore, my fellow-countrymen, to speak a solemn word of warning to you against that deepest, most subtle, most essential breach of neutrality which may spring out of partisanship, out of passionately taking sides. The United States must be neutral in fact as well as in

name during these days that are to try men's souls. We must be impartial in thought as well as in action, must put a curb upon our sentiments as well as upon every transaction that might be construed as a preference of one party to the struggle before another.

"My thought is for America. I am speaking, I feel sure, the earnest wish and purpose of every thoughtful American that this great country of ours, which is, of course, the first in our thoughts and in our hearts, should show herself in this time of peculiar trial a nation fit beyond others to exhibit the fine poise of undisturbed judgment, the dignity of self-control, the efficiency of dispassionate action, a nation that neither sits in judgment upon others, nor is disturbed in her own counsels and which keeps herself fit and free to do what is honest and disinterested and truly serviceable for the peace of the world."

So steadfastly was the mind of the President set upon peace and so solicitous was he that the nation should receive divine guidance, in promoting the cause of peace that on the eighth of September he issued the following proclamation in which he called for the observance of a special day of prayer:

"Whereas, Great nations of the world have taken up arms against one another and war now draws millions of men into battle whom the counsel of statesmen have not been able to save from the terrible sacrifice;

"And Whereas, In this as in all things it is our privilege and duty to seek counsel and succor of Almighty God, humbling ourselves before Him, confessing our weakness and our lack of any wisdom equal to these things;

"And Whereas, It is the especial wish and longing of the people of the United States, in prayer and counsel and all friendliness, to serve the cause of peace;

"Therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, do designate Sunday, the fourth day of October next, a day of prayer and supplication and do request all God-fearing persons to repair on that day to their places of worship, there to unite their petitions to Almighty God that, overruling the counsel of men, setting straight the things they can not govern or alter, taking pity on the nations now in the throes of conflict, in His mercy and goodness showing a way where men can see none, He vouchsafe His children healing peace again and restore once more that concord among men and nations without which there can be neither happiness nor true friendship nor any wholesome fruit of toil or thought in the world; praying also to this end that He forgive us our sins, our ignorance of His holy will, our wilfulness and many errors, and lead us in the paths of obedience to places of vision and to thoughts and counsels that purge and make wise."

Do the foregoing utterances of the President, the official spokesman for the people and their representative before the nations of Europe, show any sign of the military spirit, any evidence whatever of a de-

<sup>11</sup> Kent, "Commentaries on American Law," Vol. 1, p. 3. (Fourteenth edition. Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1896.)

sire for military conquest and military glory? Do they not the rather evince the very essence of the spirit of peace and of love for mankind? An unrighteous war could not have been entered upon by a nation into whose heart had passed the healing benediction of words like these.

There are those among us who thought that this nation should have declared war upon Germany as soon as she violated the neutrality of Belgium. The United States was one of the guarantors of this neutrality. Failure to maintain this guarantee even by force of arms is thought to be an evidence of moral obliquity and of cowardice. If this charge be true, it rests upon the whole nation and not solely upon the President. We are not undertaking at this time to determine whether the accusation is just or unjust. We are endeavoring to show that when finally we went to war, we assumed the burdens and the sacrifices in a righteous cause.

#### AMERICA IS SLOW TO WRATH.

For over a century one of the fundamental principles of our diplomacy was contained in Washington's parting injunction to avoid all entangling alliances with foreign powers. In a certain proud and haughty isolation we had shut ourselves off from participation in the control of events that were of the greatest moment to the world. It may justly be charged against us that our policy was narrow, provincial, and selfish. No nation can live to itself alone. To share in the benefits of an international society involves a willingness to bear a share of the burdens and to assume a portion of the responsibilities which the common lot imposes. In very truth we had not been faithful to this high conception of international obligation, but had followed instead in a most indiscriminating manner a policy which the first President had advised solely in view of conditions which prevailed in his own day.

We were living under the influence of the Washington tradition when the Great War began. Consequently the thought of aligning ourselves with either of the belligerents was out of all harmony with our customary way of thinking. Separated by a great stretch of ocean from the seat of the conflict, we thought it both right and prudent to assume the position of a spectator only—a spectator whose heart, to be sure, was torn with sympathy for the unhappy participants in this world tragedy, but whose hand was withheld from offering the help of a good Samaritan.

Furthermore, we were a divided nation. Both groups of belligerents were represented by large numbers of our population who were bound to them by blood, by language, and by tradition. This division of sentiment at the beginning of the war would have made united action in favor of either side most difficult, if not impossible.

Our habit of inaction in international matters, coupled with the divided sympathies of our people,

tended to obscure the great moral issues that were involved. The moral revulsion of a considerable number of our citizens which was occasioned by the German violation of Belgium and by the ensuing German atrocities was not shared by all. The moral sense of the nation as a whole was not aroused by the events of the first months of the war.

The unification of thought and of purpose which was lacking at first was accomplished gradually by the actions of the German military autocracy. From a position of official neutrality the nation was dragged little by little into the status of a belligerent. As the war progressed we gained new information concerning the purposes of Germany and new insight into her methods.

The change which took place in us was both intellectual and emotional in its origin. We were horrified at the revelations which were made of German frightfulness and atrocity. This emotional reaction was dependent not alone upon the statements which were made to us by trustworthy investigators like Lord Bryce among the enemies of Germany, but upon the reports of American observers who were able to get first-hand information and who were of undoubted ability and veracity.

On the intellectual side we became convinced of the wickedness of the German purpose by reading the statements of the leaders of German opinion among scientists, philosophers, statesmen, and soldiers. The ideas promulgated by the militarists, including the Kaiser and the Crown Prince, were of great weight in determining our judgment. References to "shining armor," the "good German sword," and "my army" were too frequent and too ominous not to conceive even unwilling minds that Germany had embarked upon an enterprise of conquering the world.

But even our emotional and intellectual reactions might not have led us to war if we had not suffered grievous affronts at the hands of Germany. These affronts were more than insults to our national dignity. Insults to dignity may be endured, and should be endured, if to resent them means to plunge the world into war. Germany outraged all our instincts of humanity and threatened to destroy our right to existence as a free nation. She sank our ships and murdered our citizens on the high seas. She conspired against our peace and security by employing agents to spy upon and to interfere with our industry and commerce, and plotters to disrupt our political unity as a free people. She sought to dissipate our energies and to weaken our power by involving us in war with Mexico and with Japan. She used her diplomatic and consular officers as the agents of deception and of duplicity, thereby violating all the accepted rules of international courtesy, of honor, and of morality.

Thus, finally, after an exhibition of patience to which the history of the world affords no parallel, our neutrality was broken down. With a united nation behind him, the President appeared before Congress

*Washington's  
Farewell Address*

*Germany threatened  
our existence  
as a free nation*

*Early division  
of opinion*



on the second of April, 1917, and recommended that a state of war between the United States and Germany be recognized. In no spirit of vainglory, but in a spirit of humility and at the same time with a determined purpose to remove from the world the menace of militarism, the President expressed the will of the people. These memorable words from the address embody the righteous purpose of the nation in entering the war: "Our object now, as then, is to

*The War  
Address of the  
President*

vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world as against selfish and autocratic power, and to set up amongst the really free and self-governed peoples of the world such a concert of purpose and of action as will henceforth ensure the observance of those principles. Neutrality is no longer feasible or desirable where the peace of the world is involved and the freedom of its peoples, and the menace to that peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic governments backed by organized force which is controlled wholly by their will, not by the will of their people. We have seen the

*"The world must  
be made safe for  
democracy"*

last of neutrality in such circumstances. We are at the beginning of an age in which it will be insisted that the same standards of conduct and of responsibility for wrong done shall be observed among nations and their governments that are observed among the individual citizens of civilized states.

"The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them. . . . The right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the thing which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations, and make the world itself at last free."

On the sixth of April the House of Representatives by an overwhelming vote accepted the recommendations of the President by adopting the joint resolution which had already passed the Senate, as follows:

"Whereas, The Imperial German Government has committed repeated acts of war against the Government and the people of the United States of America; therefore be it

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government which has thus been thrust upon the United States is hereby formally declared; and that the President be, and he

is hereby, authorized and directed to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the Government to carry on war against the Imperial German Government; and to bring the conflict to a successful termination all the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States."

Thus the following prophecy of the President was fulfilled:

"There will come that day when the world will say, 'This America that we thought was full of a multitude of contrary counsels now speaks with the great volume of the heart's accord, and that great heart of America has behind it the supreme moral force of righteousness and hope and the liberty of mankind.'"

The righteous purposes as expressed in the War Message were repeated in the "Reply to the Pope." On the first of August, 1917, Pope Benedict XV addressed "To the rulers of the belligerent peoples" an earnest plea for peace. On the twenty-seventh of August Secretary of State Lansing, on behalf of the President, transmitted a reply in which the aims

*The reply to the  
Pope* of the war were defined as follows: "The object of this war is to deliver the free peoples of the world

from the menace and actual power of a vast military establishment controlled by an irresponsible government, which, having secretly planned to dominate the world, proceeded to carry the plan out without regard either to the sacred obligations of treaty or the long-established practices and long-cherished principles of international action and honor; which chose its own time for the war; delivered its blow fiercely and suddenly; stopped at no barrier either of law or of mercy; swept a whole continent within the tide of blood—not the blood of soldiers only, but the blood of innocent women and children also, and of the helpless poor; and now stands balked but not defeated, the enemy of four-fifths of the world. . . . The American people have suffered intolerable wrongs at the hands of the Imperial German Government, but they desire no reprisal upon the German people, who have themselves suffered all things in the war, which they did not choose. They believe that peace should rest upon the rights of people, not the rights of governments—the rights of peoples great or small, weak or powerful—their equal rights to freedom and security and self-government and to a participation upon fair terms in the economic opportunities of the world, the German people, of course, included, if they will accept equality and not seek domination."

To wage war for such principles as these is to engage in a righteous and a holy cause. We have sought to defend ourselves from aggression, and at the same time to establish in the world at large a system of justice for all peoples, enemies as well as friends.

*An alliance of  
free nations* In this glorious enterprise it has been our high privilege to fight on the side of the other great free nations of the world. They, too, have fought in self-defense and in vindication of the eternal principles of righteousness.

If it should seem to some that to talk about the righteousness of a war which is already won is a work of supererogation, the reply is that the ultimate righteousness of our undertaking will be determined not by the professions we made at the beginning and in the course of the conflict, but by the use to which we put the victory we have achieved. "By their fruits ye shall know them."

The fervor, amounting almost to religion, which took us into the war has kept us true to our purpose to the end. As a nation we owe an everlasting debt of gratitude to the President for his exalted leadership, and to the Commander-in-Chief in France, who taught our soldiers not only how to fight valiantly and successfully, but also how to observe the knightly and Christian virtues of true soldiers. The instructions of General Pershing to the American Expeditionary

*Orders of General Pershing*

Force take a place among the noblest utterances of military commanders in the whole history of warfare. "You are going into France and Belgium," he said, "to help expel an invading army. Your first duty is to be soldiers, but your second duty, scarcely less important, is to help all who are poor and weak. You will, therefore, be courteous to all women, and you will never have even a thought of what is evil or immoral. You will, therefore, abstain from the use of wine and liquor, and you will especially be very kind to little children. You will fear God, and honor your country, and win the world to liberty. God bless you and keep you."

The President had set the standard for our methods of conducting the war when he declared in his War Message that "just because we fight without rancor and without selfish object, seeking nothing for ourselves but what we shall wish to share with all free peoples, we shall, I feel confident, conduct our operations as belligerents without passion, and ourselves observe with proud punctilio the principles of right and of fair play we profess to be fighting for."

The war now is won. What is to come out of it?

#### FURTHER PROGRESS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW.

The war has been fought and won by the nations allied against Germany and her confederates in order to defend themselves against aggression, to confirm the principle of equality among nations against the desire of one nation for domination over all, to establish a society of free nations, and to vindicate the validity of the international law which is to govern the relations of these nations with one another.

The winning of the war has involved the creation of a league of free nations in alliance with Germany—a league based upon consent and conditioned upon the existence of a common danger. For these nations to dissolve their partnership as soon as the threat from the enemy has passed would be to surrender a kind of security which they never before have enjoyed. There is no good reason to expect that the lesson of the war so soon will be forgotten. Unless the peace-loving and law-abiding nations of the world are in a

permanent league there will be danger of a recurrence of international anarchy. The Prime Minister of Great Britain in his famous speech at Gray's Inn on December 14, 1917, expressed the English view of this danger. "There will always be criminal States," he said, "until the reward of international crime becomes too precarious to make it profitable, and the punishment of international crime becomes too sure to make it attractive."

On numerous occasions the President has given his unqualified support to a new international order, which, founded upon justice and righteousness, should secure to all free nations the benefits of peace and of prosperity and the opportunity for self-development without fear of aggression. In his speech at New York on September 28, 1918, a speech which stirred the heart of the nation by its appeal to the sense of right and of justice, the President declared that for the fulfillment of the hope of the world the "indispensable instrumentality is a league of nations formed under covenants that will be efficacious."

The President's address to the Congress on January 8, 1918, is likely to be the most memorable of his addresses because it contains a detailed statement of the terms upon which America was willing to make peace, and because these terms have been accepted by Germany in full, and with only two modifications have been accepted by America's allies as a basis for the peace settlement. The fourteenth and last of the terms is as follows: "A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike."

The demand for a league of nations has the support not only of responsible statesmen, but also of organizations which have no official connection with government. A most significant expression of this unofficial opinion is contained in a statement of the war aims of British Labor. The statement, adopted at the special National Labor Conference at Central Hall, Westminster, London, on December 28, 1917, contains the following paragraphs:

"Of all the war aims, none is so important to the peoples of the world as that there shall be henceforth on earth no more war. Whoever triumphs, the people will have lost unless some effective method of preventing war can be found.

"As means to this end, the British Labor movement relies very largely upon the complete democratization of all countries; on the frank abandonment of every form of Imperialism; on the suppression of secret diplomacy, and on the placing of foreign policy, just as much as home policy, under the control of popularly elected Legislatures; on the absolute responsibility of the Foreign Minister of each country to its Legislature; on such concerted action as may be possible for the universal abolition of compul-

*The Terms of Peace*

*The War Aims of British Labor*

*A League to Enforce Peace*

sory military service in all countries, the common limitation of the costly armaments by which all peoples are burdened, and the entire abolition of profit-making armament firms, whose pecuniary interest lies always in war scares and rivalry in preparation for war.

"But it demands, in addition, that it should be an essential part of the treaty of peace itself that there should be forthwith established a supernational authority, or League of Nations, which should not only be adhered to by all the present belligerents, but

*"An International High Court"*

which every other independent sovereign state in the world should be pressed to join; the immediate establishment in such League of Nations

not only of an International High Court for the settlement of all disputes between states that are of justiciable nature, but also of appropriate machinery for prompt and effective mediation between states at issue that are not justiciable; the formation of an International Legislature, in which the

*"An International Legislature"*

representatives of every civilized state would have their allotted share; the gradual development, as

far as may prove to be possible, of international legislation agreed to by and definitely binding upon the several states, and for a solemn agreement and pledge by all states that every issue between any two or more of them shall be submitted for settlement as aforesaid, and that they will all make common cause against any state which fails to adhere to this agreement."

Since the demand for a formal organization of a society of nations is so insistent and so reasonable we have faith to believe that the world will not return to the old system which prevailed before the war. A league of nations offers an opportunity to avoid a recurrence of such a tragedy as has just been enacted.

The war has demonstrated the absolute necessity of a formal system of international law accepted by all nations and enforced by a collective authority against all aggressors. The old inchoate system, indeterminate and lacking in universal application, will now give way to the enactments of an international legislature whose statutes perforce will have the binding force of law.

That we are in a fair way to accomplish the purposes for which the war was fought is plain to see in the address of the President to the Congress on November 11, when he announced that Germany had accepted the terms of armistice offered by General Foch. In this address there is not the boastful pomp

*A new day begins*

of the conqueror, but only the simple and direct statement of a leader who has guided the nation through

dark hours to the dawn of victory, and who now with prophetic vision looks to the coming of a new day. A part of this address is as follows:

"We know, too, that the object of the war is attained; the object upon which all free men had set their hearts; and attained with a sweeping completeness which even now we do not realize.

"Armed imperialism, such as the men conceived who were but yesterday the masters of Germany, is at an end, its illicit ambitions engulfed in black disaster. Who will now seek to revive it? The arbitrary power of the military caste of Germany, which once could secretly and of its own single choice disturb the peace of the world, is discredited and destroyed.

"And more than that—much more than that—has been accomplished. The great nations which associated themselves to destroy it had now definitely united in the common purpose to set up such a peace as will satisfy the longing of the whole world for disinterested justice, embodied in settlements which are based upon something much better and much more lasting than the selfish competitive interests of powerful states.

"The humane temper and intention of the victorious governments has already been manifested in a very practical way. Their representatives in the

*"Mercy seasons justice"*

supreme war council at Versailles have, by unanimous resolution, assured the people of the central empires that everything that is possible in the circumstances will be done to supply them with food and relieve the distressing want that is in so many places threatening their very lives; and steps are to be taken immediately to organize these efforts at relief in the same systematic manner that they were organized in the case of Belgium."

Side by side with these words of the President, we

*Order of General Petain to the armies of France* put an extract from an order of the day issued by General Petain, the French commander, to his troops:

"To-morrow, in order to better dictate peace, you are going to carry your arms as far as the Rhine. Into that land of Alsace-Lorraine that is so dear to us you will march as liberators. You will go further, all the way into Germany, to occupy lands which are the necessary guarantees for just reparation.

"France has suffered in her ravaged fields and in her ruined villages. The freed provinces have had to submit to intolerable vexations and odious outrages, but you are not to answer these crimes by the commission of violences which, under the spur of your resentment, may seem to you legitimate.

"You are to remain under discipline and to show respect to persons and property. You will know, after having vanquished your adversary by force of arms, how to impress him further by the dignity of your attitude, and the world will not know which to admire most, your conduct in success or your heroism in fighting."

Surely the old order has passed away. Out of the agony of war a new world is to be born. Never again will it be possible for a military autocrat to plunge the world into a life and death struggle. Henceforth the will of God is to be done among men. "Peace on earth; good-will to men."



# Teaching Citizenship

A SERIES OF ARTICLES TREATING DIFFERENT ASPECTS OF THE SUBJECT.

## I. What Is an Ideal Course in Civics for the High School?

BY MISS E. MABEL SKINNER, WASHINGTON IRVING HIGH SCHOOL, NEW YORK CITY.

A New York City teacher coming to Philadelphia<sup>1</sup> to talk on civics is harassed by the realization that her poor little coal scuttle is boldly attempting to supply Newcastle with fuel. For you Philadelphia people have been doing things while the rest of us have been talking about them; and you have a lusty new plan in operation while we are still struggling to formulate ours.

Well, at least this gives us two advantages: We can watch you experimenting and profit by your experience; and we can explore the unknown territory of an ideal civics course with all the joy that adventurers have; while you, having chosen your homestead and staked out your claim, must settle down and busy yourselves with the spring planting.

What is an ideal course of study in civics? This is a question which both the elementary and high school teachers in our state are most earnestly asking just now. Last January the State Board of Regents adopted a rule which makes civics a requirement for graduation in all high schools in New York state, and recommends that the subject be taught in either the first or second year of the high school. In April the state legislature passed a law calling for instruction in citizenship and patriotism for all children of the state over eight years of age, and a committee is now at work drafting a course of study to meet this requirement. The state syllabus for the teaching of citizenship to our adult foreign-born is being revised by still another group of men and women.

In New York City our Board of Superintendents is introducing community civics into the first year of the high school. The task of making the syllabus has been entrusted to a committee of five. Our superintendent in charge of high schools recently estimated that we shall need eighty additional civics teachers in our high schools next fall. An examination in civics is imminent, and those of us who are interested in the work are rejoicing over the fact that it is to be an examination in *civics*, and not an examination in history and civics as heretofore.

And so, take it all in all, it looks to-day as though the ice were breaking up in the river and as though we might at last hope for a freshet of new ideas to come through. In fact, there have been certain encouraging cracks in the New York civics ice field for the past six years, beginning with the day when William McAndrew, then principal of the Washington Irving High School, instructed one of his teachers to throw the old civics course of study out of the win-

dow, ignore the state examinations, "cut out the old flub dub" (I am quoting Mr. McAndrew verbatim), and concentrate on the teaching of good citizenship. Another big crack appeared when the Julia Richman High School began to organize classes for the study of community life. Then Bay Ridge and other high schools came into the field and the ice began to move at last. And now civics teachers in twenty-five high schools in Greater New York are searching for the answer to the question which is our present topic for discussion.

Since 1913 we have had five different syllabi in civics at Washington Irving. We have come to sympathize with Dr. Law, of the Springfield, Mass., High School, who says that their course of study won't stand still long enough to have its picture taken. As a result of our different try-outs we think we know rather exactly what an ideal course of study is *not*. It is not the course we used in 1913. That year we took for our motto the line of Kipling's: "Of no mean city am I," and studied New York City and the governments which help us to live there in peace and safety. But this motto with its point of view proved unfortunate. Our girls did not need to have this thought projected into their consciousness. They were perfectly sure before we began that New York was not only the biggest and wealthiest city on the continent, but also the best. New Yorkers are proverbially among the most provincial people in the United States. We didn't want the rising generation to suffer from the disease of New Yorkitis, if we could help it.

Besides, the work was still too informational, and therefore too much like the old time civil government, the only gain being that it was tied up rather more closely with the interests of the girls; so we soon threw it, too, out of the window, and started all over again.

Our next plan was one that seemed to carry over into the lives of the pupils, but it was lacking in balance and organization. In our fear of having an outline, a mere skeleton with no flesh and blood and living tissue on the frame work, we went so far as to create an organism without a good, stiff backbone. To change the figure of speech a bit, if our first plan was a crustacean, our second was a jelly fish, and, as you know, neither is very far up in the scale of animal life.

In our efforts to avoid both of these extremes and strike a happy medium we evolved other plans. May I briefly describe our last one—not because it is an ideal course of study, but because we think it is the

<sup>1</sup> This paper was read at the University of Pennsylvania on April 12, 1919.

nearest we have come to our ideal as yet, and because it will give the point of view for what is to follow. After all, the only way to approach our ideals is from the level on which we stand.

First of all, we chose another motto. Instead of our old one extolling the city we chose a call to service: "Enter to learn; depart to serve." We used suggestions we had received from Arthur W. Dunn and Prof. J. L. Barnard, from the famous bulletins 17 and 23 and 28 of the United States Bureau of Education, from educational journals, the newest textbooks, the course at the William Penn High School, and from many visitors who came and watched us at work, and gave us their criticisms and suggestions.

We teach our girls that civics is not only the science of government, but also the art of good citizenship. Then we define the good citizen as one who is good for something, to quote William H. Allen, and the best citizen as one who, wherever he goes, makes a place for himself through his service. We proceed to develop our work in this manner:

First we ask our pupils: "What are the things we must have in order to live?" They suggest food, clothing, shelter, and to these we give the name "Primary needs of the individual." Then we ask: "What must we have in order to live well, be efficient and happy?" and we work out a list including: Happy family life and friends, health, protection of life and property, education, work, recreation and religion.

These we classify as secondary needs of the individual. Similarly we later develop the primary and secondary needs of the community, such as transportation, communication, care of dependents, defectives, delinquents, etc.

Having established our needs we ask: "How many of these needs can you get for yourself without any help from any one?" At first the girls were ready to name the whole list! Then different pupils begin to object: "But you can't get health without the help of doctors and nurses if you are sick," says one girl. "Or without the Board of Health to quarantine contagious diseases," suggests another. "Or somebody to inspect our meat supply and see that it is not impure," adds a third. Another young thinker remarks: "You can't get an education without schools and teachers, and your parents take care of you while you are being educated. That counts, doesn't it?" "You can get an education without teachers and schools," another girl objects. "Some of our finest men have been self-educated." "But they had to have books, didn't they?" the first speaker questions, triumphantly, "and didn't someone write the books?" And so the discussion continues until in the end the girls conclude that even a Robinson Crusoe on a desert island has to have the things he brings with him from the ship and which speak of community effort, in order to survive. Even our religion, the girls maintain, is largely the result of training founded on sacred books, written by many people; and our community worship is of great help to us in our individual efforts to be good.

The class having come to the point where the girls are willing to admit the need of co-operation, the next question is: "How do people co-operate to help each other get these things they so very much need?" Name, for example, as many agencies as you can think of that helped directly or indirectly to get breakfast for you this morning. The girls name farmer, shipper, commission agent, grocer, Board of Health—inspector of milk; inspectors of food, of markets, of cold storage plants; legislators who passed pure food laws; the Bureau of Weights and Measures, etc. Some of these organizations are private, with a limited membership, supported by gifts of money, with no way of imposing their wishes upon the community except through their influence upon public opinion; some of these organizations are public, with a much less limited membership, supported by taxes and with the power of enforcing their rules or laws upon the whole community. We decide that since we are going to study civics we will limit our discussion and concentrate on the public, i.e., the government agencies. At this point we define government as men, women and children organized to help each other get their needs.

We now proceed to discuss the various activities of the government, grouping them around these needs, e.g., city, state and federal agencies that help us to solve our food problems, the services they render, what we can do to co-operate with these agencies, what services now performed by private organizations might be rendered more effectively by government agencies, and vice versa. After we have collected facts and established certain data we then, in a few lessons at the end of the term, review in cross sections; studying city, state and nation as units of government and finding out what each does for us, how it does it and what services we are expected to render in return.

We believe that one of the advantages of this plan is that it makes the pupils realize what Rousseau meant when he said, "Man gives up some of his personal liberty for the sake of civic liberty." We have in our New York City high schools a number of boys and girls who are extreme individualists. They see very clearly that democracy means self-government, but they think more about the first word, self, than they do about the second one, government. They tell you very glibly that our nation is a government of the people, by the people and for the people, but they pass over the first phrase, "of the people," entirely in their thoughts and remember only the "by" and "for." I wonder whether we are the only city that has boys and girls like this? It has seemed to us at Washington Irving that our course in civics has helped some of these half-grown citizens, showing them first how necessary government is, and second, the importance of citizen-interest and co-operation in the activities of the organized group.

And thus we have been swinging around the circle in this matter of teaching civics at Washington Irving. We rather hope that this circle has been a spiral, and that we have been steadily climbing up the mountain

even while we have been going around it. The center of our spiral is fixed and has never varied. It is a girl of high school age. Our objective is fixed, too—the development of this girl into a thoughtful and capable woman citizen, interested in community life, thinking straight in social and civic affairs, recognizing her responsibilities as a member of her varying groups, and alert and eager to serve each of these groups or communities.

The course of study we are looking for is the one that will best help us to accomplish these results. We believe it will supply the pupil with certain community facts on which to base intelligent community action. But the informational side will be much less stressed than heretofore. We shall want our pupils to know where to go for facts when they need them, and what to do with them when they get them, rather than to become miniature encyclopedias. Suppose you and I had remembered all the things our teachers tried to teach us. What very dreadful creatures we should be to-day!

We are very sure the ideal course of study is inspirational as well as informational, and here it diverges sharply from the course of twenty or even ten years ago. A woman reporter said the other day: "I hated civics when I was in school with a deep and bitter hatred. It was not until I had been out of school some time that I discovered what a fascinating subject it is." The new civics, call it community civics, socialized civics, dynamic civics or practical patriotism, recognizes the fact that we wish to create appetites and interests, to inculcate ideals and arouse civic impulses. It tries to prevent the breakage that results from zeal without knowledge; and the waste, the deadly waste, that results from knowledge without zeal.

But if there is any one thing more than another which we are confident is found in the ideal course of study, one thing which we are most eager to provide for in ours, it is a great number of social and civic activities connected with the class-room work.

You remember we defined civics as both the science of government and the art of good citizenship. As the science of government it employs laboratory methods and must be accompanied by field work. As the art of good citizenship it teaches pupils to apply the principles discovered in the class-room in definite forms of social and civic service.

Some of us go so far as to claim that the ideal civics recitation will be preceded by a certain amount of extra-mural work through which the pupils will gain civic and social experiences, gather facts and collect data; that the class-room will be transformed into a miniature forum in which the pupils, under the direction and guidance of their teachers will compare, contrast and discuss their facts, and evolve certain clear-cut conclusions concerning community needs and ways of meeting them; and the lesson will then be tried out by the pupils as, both individually and in groups, they go forth to put their civics to the test in the crucible of life.

Now a teacher can put this thought into a very few

words, but when she attempts to put it into practice, it means hours of careful study and days of hard work. And yet it is so worth while and the results are so gratifying that any teacher who has once made the attempt to plan her lessons with this thought in mind is pursued by the desire to repeat the attempt.

Even though we cannot always work out a lesson with field work for preparation and an application in service, we can remember that that preparation for the recitation will be most effective which is performed by the pupil himself. The civics teacher will need to go to market frequently after fresh ideas, but he will also need to keep in mind that a boy is all the more hungry for a meal if he has been to market himself; or better yet, if he has been out working in the garden. And this is more than a method of approach to the subject, it is a matter so vital and so big that activities of this kind should be carefully provided for in the course of study itself.

Pre-recitation activities will include the making of visits for purposes of observation or investigation, and the securing of interviews for the sake of gathering facts, i.e., community research work; the writing of themes, outlines and briefs; the formulating and sending of letters asking for laboratory material needed by the class; library work and the working up of debates; the collection of clippings and pamphlets for the files and the preparation of graphic and other illustrative material for the bulletin board. This will mean teacher activity in guiding and directing, in advising and restraining; and pupil activity raised to the *nth* degree.

Post-recitation activities, such as the writing of notes, the preparation of exhibits, even those much abused but ubiquitous written tests, all furnish the civics pupils with things to do which will enable them to deepen impression through expression in true pedagogic style. But we want our civics course to provide for more than this. Let the pupil tackle a real community job. He succeeds or he fails. At any rate, he has substituted the genuine motive of community service for the artificial one of working for marks, and if this is not true when he starts his task, it will probably be true before he has finished it. Also, the measure of his success is not meted out to him by a teacher with a record book in his hand, but by the community itself. And, most important of all, he is learning civics in the laboratory of life. Do you not think that a syllabus planned with this in mind, with *things to do*, as well as *topics to study*, will be a force in the community which will make itself felt? Let me give you one or two illustrations of what I mean. The pupils are studying the government and our shelter. A committee of pupils visits the Tenement House Department of the city, and secures any literature which it may publish containing the things the landlord and tenant should know. In class the pupils study this literature, and, working co-operatively, formulate an inspection blank which can be used by an amateur tenement house inspector. Then, as the application of the lesson, each pupil will take his blank home with him and inspect



the house in which he lives. Any evils that need to be remedied can be reported to the proper authorities. Perhaps a few of the best blanks can be sent to the Tenement House Commissioner, to arouse his interest in what the schools are doing, and incidentally to let him know that our pupils are being informed as to the services his department is expected to render, and are being taught their duties as citizens, too.

Or suppose the lesson is to be on the subject of civic beauty. As preparation for the lesson one-half of the class might be asked to survey their neighborhoods, and list community eye-sores, e.g., dirty sidewalks, garish billboards, water tanks on roofs, ugly poles and wires, torn-up streets. The other half of the class might be requested to list things good to look at, e.g., boulevards, shade trees, fine buildings, well-kept pavements, civic centres, etc. These surveys would be discussed in class, and the pupils would be asked, "How can we secure more of the desirable community properties, and how can we get rid of the others? Is our school a 'benediction of beauty' upon the community? Why or why not? Is there anything that can be done by the civics class to increase its value to the community in this direction, anything it can do every day, or on some special occasion as the school birthday or at graduation? What did Ruskin mean when he said: 'You may have thought that beauty is expensive. You are wrong—it is ugliness that costs.' Or William Morris when he said: 'Make the contrast less disgraceful between the fields where the beasts live and the streets where men live.' " The assignments preceding the second lesson might include a survey of the public and private agencies interested in the problem of civic beauty (in New York City this would mean the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Art Commission of the City of New York, etc.), what other cities are doing to minister to their citizens' pleasure through civic beauty, with a special study of billboards or any other local problem which seemed to need attention. The practical application would be a spirited Clean-Up Campaign, in the school, first, and then, if conditions warrant it, a neighborhood clean-up, too. Or, it may be that the question of billboards assumes importance. Pupils can be asked to locate billboards that seem objectionable because they are dangerous in case of fire or wind; or a menace to health because used as a screen for waste; or dangerous to public morals because of the nature of the posters, or unsightly. They can find out in books or from friends who have been to Europe, whether there are billboards in European cities. How is their street advertising regulated? Have we any local ordinances concerning billboards? Interview an artist, an architect, a business man who advertises, an art teacher, and ask for their opinions concerning our use of billboards. Have they any changes to suggest? Find out how St. Louis met this problem. If conditions are bad it may be possible by means of briefs and photographs to interest some civic club or social organization, and persuade them to start a campaign for better billboards.

In this way the pupil will be learning about civic beauty as he himself helps to beautify his city.

Not only will the ideal course of study be informational, inspirational and dynamic, but it will be flexible; unchanging in essential elements, but fluid in form. Life-giving water takes the shape of the basin into which it flows, though its salient characteristics are the same in both mountain lake and swift-flowing river. There will be certain fixed principles taught all classes in all schools, but the course of study must not be so rigid that we cannot introduce into it at any time the study of a civic problem that is pressing upon the community for solution; nor so crowded but that there will always be time to stop and bare our heads and consider the life of a great American who has finished his course and kept the faith.

Why, some of the old-time courses of study in civics were so formidable a mass of facts to be taught, that the syllabus became a rod with which to chasten the poor teacher, instead of a staff to support and comfort him. It was cruelly hard on the teacher, and still harder on the little band of pilgrims he was trying to guide!

Let me illustrate what I mean when I say the course of study must not be too crowded. Some of the best material for the teaching of civics will walk right into the class-room and straight up to the desk, if only we leave room for it. The girls in one civics class were working on a health survey of their school building. Among other things they were rating the ventilation of their recitation rooms as good, bad or fair. The teacher asked: "Suppose you enter a room and the windows are all closed, the air is very oppressive and you find it hard to breathe. What will you do?" One of the girls replied: "I'd mark the room 'bad' on my survey blank." The teacher waited, with no particular thought in mind except that she didn't feel quite satisfied with the answer. A second girl arose and said: "I'd call the attention of the teacher to the fact." Then the teacher had a thought. She waited now for the answer which she felt sure would come, and it did. A third girl arose, with a little laugh, and said: "I think I'd use the window pole."

The teacher called the attention of the girls to the fact that three types of citizens had been suggested by the answers given. Citizen number one notices when something goes wrong, grumbles and complains, and that is all he ever does about it. Why should he worry? Some one will attend to the matter some day. And so he makes a mental note, "Ventilation, bad," and goes on about his business. Citizen number two goes a step farther. He reports the condition to the proper authority. Sometimes this is the best thing he can do. Citizen number three notes that the ventilation is bad, sees in the situation an opportunity for service, and—gets busy with the window pole.

The lesson went home, and the expression, "window pole girls," became a school idiom.

Weeks later these same girls were asked to cooperate with the Merchants' Association in an anti-

litter campaign. In asking for volunteers the teacher said: "There are some citizens who are going around at the present time growling. 'It's perfectly scandalous the way the streets are littered up. This is the dirtiest city in the country.' There are other citizens who say, 'The conditions on this block are a disgrace,' and send a complaint to the Street Cleaning Department. There are some citizens, however, who realize that the Street Cleaning Department cannot keep the streets clean without the co-operation of the citizens. These men are going to do what they can to help, and they are giving you an opportunity to help, too. Volunteers are wanted for this service, Window pole girls, stand up!" The girls laughed, and volunteered en masse.

If the course of study had been overcrowded it would never have been possible to make use of this incident in the civics class, for the discussion took some little time.

After awhile the pupils catch the spirit of the new civics, and do not wait for the teacher to suggest plans and projects for them to carry out. Once upon a time a representative of the Department of Charities visited one of our high schools in New York City. He spoke of the work of the department, and in the course of his talk mentioned the city almshouse, with its twelve hundred homeless and friendless old men, and still greater number of little old ladies. He also spoke of a ward in which the inmates were all blind, and told how keenly they enjoyed their visitors, when any came to see them. The next morning the captain of the section which had heard this talk met her civics teacher in the hall, and said, smilingly: "Good morning, Miss Blank, we have our program ready." "Program? What program?" said Miss Blank. "Why, our program for the almshouse," the pupil replied, in a surprised tone.

To make a long story short, the next Sunday a group of twenty-three girls, a couple of teachers and one or two mothers, armed with a permit, a violin, a phonograph, big baskets of fruit and innumerable picture postcards, visited the almshouse. They set their phonograph up in the different wards, put on their records and serenaded the inmates, a very modern kind of troubadour, singing with the records, whenever they could. The fruit they left in the blind ward, the post cards in another ward, and finally they even persuaded the little old ladies in the dining-room to sing with the phonograph a stanza of Auld Lang Syne. One stanza was all the visiting party could stand. The sight of those tiny, shrunken figures in their cotton dresses with their blue woolen shawls drawn tightly around their shoulders, the sound of those soft, old quavering voices, began to make sad inroads on the composure of the troubadours, and they called out a rather hasty good-bye and fled. Going home, one of the girls said to her teacher in a burst of confidence: "Do you know, Miss Blank, I think I shall never grumble about things in my home, ever again, as long as I live. It doesn't seem as though I could. I just feel as though I couldn't do too much for my home after this. I am so grateful that I have it."

Was it a civics lesson they learned? Maybe not. Was it a lesson that was worth while? The girls thought so, and their teacher did, too. The important point in it all was this, that a lecture by an official of the Department of Corrections had, without any suggestion from the teacher, resulted in an effort to serve on the part of the girls. Whether it was social service or civic service, what difference does it make?

At the end of the school year a group of girls asked permission of their civics teacher to plan the last lesson of the term themselves. A committee of pupils was appointed to carry out the project. The only stipulation the teacher made was that the time of the recitation should be filled with things that were worth while. When the chairman had called the meeting to order she made this little speech: "We girls have had for the motto of our civics class: 'Enter to learn, depart to serve.' Now we are leaving school. We've been learning lots of things. Well, what are we going to do about them? You will please discuss this topic first." The pupils, immature though they were, had caught the spirit of the new civics.

My time is up, and I must close. If our ideal course of study sounds too sentimental, remember there is no fear of its being so if it is carefully tied up to action. Feeling unexpressed is sentimentality; feeling expressed in service, we none of us need fear.

If you say, "It can't be done," I answer it is being done, in many different parts of the country to-day. Rural teachers are making their study of the community and its transportation concrete and practical by teaching their pupils about good roads and then sending them out with the road drag. Children have helped in scores of cities and towns during clean-up and city beautifying campaigns, making sanitary surveys, or co-operating with the city departments as members of juvenile street cleaning leagues, or fire prevention guards, or junior police. Boy Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, Junior Boards of Trade and Chambers of Commerce, auxiliaries of adult civic organizations, have all proved their worth many times over. But these various organizations are not tied up to our civics recitations. We still "hear recitations" between nine and three and have clubs after school, and between the class work and the club there is a great gulf fixed. Both class and club suffer. What we need to do is to put these activities into our ideal course of study.

Whether you agree with me in this or not, you will all concede this, I am sure: That in the next few years America is going to be tried as perhaps never before in her history; and that we civics teachers, supposedly specialists in the teaching of citizenship, will need to go prospecting most earnestly in our particular field. We must discover, if we can, that ideal course of study, that we may help our boys and girls to honor the flag in their daily lives, and to add new lustre to its glory. For the very life of the republic depends upon the daily lives of her citizens; and if she is to serve humanity, we must serve her.

## II. How Our Schools Miss the Spirit of Citizenship

BY JENNIE McMULLIN TURNER, FORMERLY HEAD OF HISTORY DEPARTMENT, WILEY HIGH SCHOOL, TERRE HAUTE, INDIANA.

"I'd rather you would not teach her to read," said the prospective teacher to the mother of an eager little girl. "It will be much easier for me to teach her if I can begin in my own way next year when she starts to school." So the little girl lost a whole year of the pleasure of reading in order that the teacher might have the satisfaction of doing the thing in exactly her own way.

"The grade school is not the place to encourage or permit discussion of disputed or unsettled questions," says the cautious public. "Stick to the fundamentals and do not bother the children with such things."

And so the ninety per cent. who never go beyond the eighth grade leave school without having formed the habit of studying and criticizing the conditions in which they live.

"Boys and girls in the high school are too young to face the great problems of life. They cannot take a sane view of economic and social questions until they are older and have acquired a basis for judgment," says the same element a little later, and the teachers are afraid to defy it. Occasionally some precocious youngster, who does not realize that he has not acquired that balance and power of sober judgment which would fit him to philosophize on such a dangerous subject is likely to want to talk about the troubles in Montana, and the terms of the strike settlement. Tact and firmness may be necessary to draw him back to the story of reconstruction after the Civil War, and to keep him there for a month or so while the class discusses President Lincoln's plan, President Johnson's plan, Congress's plan, and the plan of everybody else who had a plan or thought he had a plan. On the whole, however, the cautious element have their way, and the great mass of students leave high school innocent of any dangerous habit of meditation upon great social problems.

For a few of them there is one more chance. They are able to go to some college or university. There they may elect certain courses with such doubtful names as trade unionism and trusts. These, however, are taught innocuously by professors who realize that the suspicious eye of the public is upon them. And so most of our students leave college with a superficial view of the great problems of humanity and their importance. All along the line they are prevented from studying the things they need to know because their elders are afraid they have not attained sufficient balance to be unmoved by what they learn.

"But civics is being taught in our high schools and even in our grade schools," protests this same public. "Our boys and girls all over the country are studying the life of their own community in order that they may become intelligent and substantial citizens."

Yes, the community has been turned upside down and wrong side out for the benefit of the young peo-

ple. They have been taken to the city council, to the municipal court, to the factories, and to milk stations. They have ferreted out the name of every public official; they have promised adherence to long lists of ready-made resolutions, such as "I will not tear up and throw paper into the street;" they have even conducted community surveys.

And is the civic spirit instilled by this method?

After all, what is the civic spirit? Just this: the desire to learn to work with one's neighbors for whatever we can do better by joint effort than by individual effort, and the faith to believe that whatever it is good for us to do, we can do.

How can we implant this desire and this faith in our young folks?

In the first place, we must rid ourselves of the idea than any subject about which a child is curious is too big or too hard for him. It is only the poor teacher who makes it so. The real teacher must be able to "think like a philosopher and speak like a peasant." It is just as easy for a child to comprehend a great world state with an international legislature, executive and judiciary, as for him to comprehend the workings of his own city government.

Second, the child must learn to face issues squarely and not dodge them just because the subject happens to be an unpleasant and controversial one. The study of the community must not merely call attention to its strong points and its weak ones, but it must also suggest improvements. The pupil must put himself in the place of the neglectful landlord, of the neglected tenant, of the city manager, of the manufacturer, of the striker and of the strike-breaker. He must ask himself what he would do in their place. He must ask himself what he would have been at the time of the early Christian persecutions—a Christian or a pagan; whether he would have been a Catholic or a follower of Luther in 1521; whether he would have been a Tory or a revolutionist if he had lived in the American colonies in 1776; whether he is to-day a Republican, Democrat, Progressive, Socialist, or Prohibitionist, and why. He must learn to form judgments of his own; to know why he has formed them, and to sympathize with the point of view of others without sacrificing his own. He must cease to be smug in order that he may become constructive.

To do all this, we admit with the cautious public, the child must have a background. This is the third thing which the school should give. The child must learn to see himself and his various communities in their proper perspective. Back and forth over the road of the past, to and fro over the world of the present, and forward into the future, the pupil must go every year, every week, every day, until he realizes how important and yet how unimportant he and his world are. He must know history because that



shows him that the race is always making progress in learning to live together; and he must see how slow those steps are in order that he may not be discouraged with the slowness of our present progress.

Above all, he must learn that he need not accept things as they are; that he must think out things to do. For "where there is no vision, the people perish."

### III. The Social Sciences in the High School<sup>1</sup>

#### (THE PASADENA PLAN)

BY R. L. ASHLEY, HEAD OF THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCE, PASADENA HIGH SCHOOL,  
PASADENA, CALIFORNIA.

One of the greatest educational problems of recent years has been that of the high school course or courses in the social sciences. Until a few years ago most of the best courses followed the recommendations of the Committee of Seven. Within recent years the courses of that committee have been less satisfactory for several reasons: First, they were either planned for schools which could give at least three or four years to *history*, or the schools were limited to a rather intensive study of a particular period, following the "block" system. Secondly, schools have wanted to introduce other social sciences; notably they have desired a much greater stress upon civics, upon economic questions as distinct from the principles of economics, and upon social organization and problems. Thirdly, schools have insisted upon a larger amount of time for the study of European events in the last two and a half or three centuries.

Since the new arrangement would call for a careful study of many subjects omitted or neglected in the plan of the Committee of Seven, a real problem was created. The Committee of Five offered valuable suggestions and recommended that less attention be paid to ancient history. The newer courses which seem to meet with greatest favor are in a sense based upon the recommendations of the Committee of Five, but they provide for only two years of European history, including the history of England. In common with other progressive high schools, the Pasadena High School, of Pasadena, California, has given an immense amount of study to the problem. It has actually worked out a scheme similar to that used in many of these other high schools, but it has developed some of the new work in a little different way, or somewhat more completely, than most other high schools.

#### THE PROBLEM.

In arranging a new course the first question that arises is that of *proportion*. At the beginning decision must be made as to what social sciences shall be included. How much history shall there be, and in what years shall historical instruction be offered? How much time shall be set aside for what we call civics? Shall it be given at the beginning of the course, or at the end, or both? To what extent shall economics have separate treatment? Shall "sociology" find a place anywhere in the new curriculum?

It is impossible to arrange a group of these subjects which will meet the needs of every type of

school or of each particular group of students within any special school. Keeping these facts in mind, it would seem possible, however, for each school to plan a well arranged *general course* in the social sciences for those students of that school who can give most attention to this branch of education. It should also be possible so to plan this general course that any one or more of the subjects included within the general scheme can be taken by those students of that school who need that particular work. In other words, each school should be able to have a longer course based upon general principles, well arranged, and completely organized; but such a course should also be adjusted easily to the needs of particular groups within the school, and it should be easily adapted or developed in order to explain any crisis or present-day problem.

A second question which must be considered from the beginning is the *angle of treatment*. If the stress in the course is placed upon history, it would seem as though the method of approach would necessarily be historical, but that is by no means self-evident. If, on the contrary, the stress in the general course is placed upon descriptive rather than historical subjects, the treatment could hardly be chiefly historical and be of value. Since the general courses in most high schools combine both historical and descriptive subjects, the question at once arises: does there underlie the treatment of both kinds of subjects, a *single principle* which can be adapted to the peculiar character and needs of each? We of the Pasadena High School believe that it does, and we find our underlying principle in the *civic organization*<sup>2</sup> of the American people to-day. Starting from this point, it is possible really to *socialize history*, because those events in history can be particularly studied which lead up to the civic organization of the present time, and those changes or movements in history which do not seem directly associated or connected with the history of human progress toward our present-day civic organization find their value in comparison with the present order of things. It can thus be seen that, from this point of view, history retains a value in itself as history, something which the historians have been afraid that the schoolmen of the present time would fail to appreciate and study, but history from the high school point of view finds its main value in

<sup>2</sup> For a brief elementary treatment of the writer's idea of civic organization, see his book on "The New Civics," Chapter IV.

<sup>1</sup> Copyright, 1919, by R. L. Ashley.

its relationship to us—not to the changing series of daily or weekly events, but to the great underlying principles of America's social, economic and political organization in the early twentieth century.<sup>3</sup>

A broad field is opened for our consideration when we consider the main object of either a short special course of one year, or of a longer general course of three or more years.<sup>4</sup> For the student who cannot take a complete and well planned course of at least three years, chief attention must be given *either to intensive training in historical study or to the content of the particular course which the student may have selected or may have been asked to choose.* It would naturally seem as though, if the student were to take but one course, or even if he takes two courses, more attention would be paid to the content than to the particular method; because otherwise something else might just as well have been selected; and if something else could quite easily have been substituted, there would naturally be no real reason why that particular course should be given to the particular group of which that student was a member. The question of historical training in a short course for students who take no other work in social science would therefore necessarily seem to be incidental and would depend to a very large extent upon the age and intellectual maturity of the group of students to whom the work is presented.

On the other hand, for the student who gives a number of years to the social sciences, the question arises: Shall most of the work be *extensive* or *intensive*, or if it is a combination of the two, what shall be treated extensively and broadly and what shall be studied more thoroughly? Certainly the student should have a background of the history of the race. How long he can afford to spend on that is still a matter of dispute. Since few students are able to take more than three years in these subjects, and since a general course in any high school should be *the longest course which can be planned for the largest number of students*, it would seem desirable that this regular course should not give more than one year to the centuries before the development of distinctively modern civilization. To give less than that time would probably be to leave an impression so vague as would be valueless, an impression definite only in its inaccuracy. Moreover, if a whole year is given to the development of modern Europe, again

care must be taken to see that this is not an extended study of conditions and changes which, although near us in time, have little direct connection with, or relationship to, the modern world of our own day. The new course in the Europe of the last two or three centuries should include a careful and thorough study of those movements and those conditions which do explain modern Europe, so far as that can be done to the students in the second or third year of the high school. Since the study of modern Europe is but a part of the main question—the comprehension of the modern world and how it came to be what it is—particular attention must be given also to the historical development of modern civilization on American soil and the connection of American history with the world history. We must be careful, therefore, not to study American history simply for itself; its value must lie in its explanation of America to-day. It would not be true to say that we *supplement* this short survey of history—European and American—by a study of things as they are now. What we have done in our courses in history has been to study the present through the past; what we shall do in our descriptive courses is to *complete* our study of the present in the only way that it can possibly be done—by a careful examination of the principles and the practices of the American people in our own time.

#### NATURE OF THE NEW COURSES.

The arrangement of courses for any high school must take into account the administrative organization of the whole school system. We must not attack the problem as though we were simply blocking out a four-year course of study for the high school. We should, if possible, arrange a far more completely developed course, one that should include a well organized and educationally successful course for at least grades five to eight as well as grades nine to twelve. Each of these would be halves of a whole; that is, each should be an integral part of the other. In other words, what has been said about the high school problem in relation to longer and shorter courses is just as true of the whole larger course of study for both upper grammar grades and the high school,<sup>5</sup> but we must treat the subject on a larger scale, and in a broader field. The shorter courses—for those who drop out, or for those who cannot take all of those years in the grammar grades and not more than one or two years in the high school—must be planned with these facts and problems in mind. The writer believes from his own experience of nearly a quarter of a century in the classroom, and especially from the work which the Pasadena High School has been doing the last eight or nine years in reorganizing its courses, that plans can be worked out by which the shorter courses can really be made a true part of the longer scheme. He believes further that the longer or general course, even if it includes only

<sup>3</sup> From this point of view the study of civics or of economic and social problems inevitably ceases to be a recitation upon the forms of government on the one hand, or a hit-or-miss criticism of defects in our modern political system, or an equally fragmentary, and therefore valueless discussion of the latest change in our rapid-moving world.

<sup>4</sup> It does not necessarily follow that because a general course, or even special courses, in the social sciences is arranged from this broader point of view that the subjects are treated without regard to the degree of educational development of the class or group of students by whom any particular subject is being studied. We must not think, because we have an underlying principle in the arrangement of our social science course, that we must neglect the question of group psychology.

<sup>5</sup> In a plan such as that suggested above, the administrative organization of schools as grammar, intermediate (or Junior high), and high schools really need not be considered, if the long double course is arranged for all schools of a single city.



the high school, but particularly if it covers the grammar grades as well as the high school, will possess a *unity* and a *continuity* which will place the social sciences on a par with the very best educational subjects which it is possible for any school or group of schools to offer. The unity must be represented by the arrangement of the *courses*; the continuity must be obtained through the continuous development of the individual student and groups of students by whom the successive courses are taken. The general course should be planned almost solely with that purpose in mind. Not simply arrangement of subjects in succession, but the use of cumulative methods in successive years must be worked out with extreme care. Any building-up process must be slow. It would be impossible without careful and definite preparation, without careful and definite treatment of such subject; but its value would depend not upon the excellence of any course in any particular grade or year, but on the fact that the whole scheme is a building-up process which starts somewhere and goes somewhere else; that it starts at a beginning and it goes directly and inevitably toward a goal which is worth attaining.

As a summary therefore of the nature of the new course in the social sciences, we might say that it is a real course of study. That is, it is a general course adapted to the needs of the largest group in that particular institution who can take a real course in the social sciences. It must, however, make provision for the needs of the special groups whose preparation is far more limited than those of the regular students, whose interest in the general subject is less, and whose time given to such a course is but one or at the most two years of the high school period. Care must be taken, however, to see that both the general course and the special courses are part of one great plan and that they function with each other as completely and as perfectly as the differences in general character permit. It stands to reason that no general and special courses can be made to do this unless both are based upon some broad foundation principles and unless in addition the principles—or at least the main principle—are so closely associated with the vital interests of the American people to-day that the general course can be made adaptable not only to the students who specialize in social science, but to the needs of other groups of students, and also to whatever new national problems may arise. In short, we must have a course based upon principles, and it must be adaptable also to the needs of those who can take only a short course. Furthermore, we must be able to adapt it to crises such as that which exists to-day and to minor changes such as is represented by the current history which shows us which way humanity is moving.

The writer does not mean to intimate that civic organization at the present time is necessarily the underlying principle upon which such a course should be based, but, after ten years of experiment on the general problem and on every phase of the special problems which have been mentioned in the preceding

paragraphs, he believes that it is better adapted than any other which has yet been treated or developed by our schoolmen. Such a general course in the social sciences calls for and is not satisfied with less than the real socialization of history, so far as it is possible to treat that in the simple way required by classes of our first and second year high school students. It also makes possible a treatment, simple if not elementary, of the general principles underlying our present governments, industries and social organization, and it allows for more advanced students a further treatment of civic problems—social, economic and political—which can be understood only when studied from the standpoint of civic organization. If treated from that angle, he believes that many of those problems can really be understood by fairly well trained high school students. In such a scheme of things current events take their proper place as interesting though not vital topics, because they represent the latest, but necessarily a temporary phase, of the great movement onward. With such a plan, the study of a world crisis like the present world conflict becomes simplified to an extraordinary degree. In spite of our nearness to the epoch-making changes which have been going on in Europe for several years and in America for at least two years, and which will continue in both hemispheres for a long time to come, it is possible for even high school students who have surveyed at least the main movements in humanity's progress and who have studied conditions in Europe and America as they were before the Great War, to see how and why the campaigns and disasters and crises of recent years mean changes not only to the map of the world, but also in the social and economic conditions which will exist in this country and Europe.

#### THE PASADENA COURSE OF STUDY.

The problem of working out for the Pasadena High School general and special courses based upon these principles and ideas has been somewhat similar to that of the average high school in other American cities. Pasadena has only one high school, which offers a large number of courses and has a total enrollment of something over 1,500. Although a distinctively suburban community rather than an industrial or commercial city, whose students may be somewhat inclined to study literary rather than vocational subjects, nevertheless, its courses of study are not different from those one would expect to find in the average American city. In Pasadena no attempt has been made by the Department of Social Science to deal with the problem of the grades in any way. It has been assumed that in the lower grades courses would be given in American history from the biographical point of view and that the story of European leaders and movements would be read if not studied by the majority of the students. In the upper grammar grades, of course, a careful study has been made of American history and considerable attention paid to community civics. On that account the subject of community civics has been treated as a grammar school problem rather than one for the



high school. The place assigned to it has been the eighth rather than the ninth year.

Since our attention has been devoted exclusively to a high school problem and to the working out of a course which a large number of students could take for three years, but which comparatively few could continue into a fourth year, we adopted nearly ten years ago a general course including two years of European history, with a year of American history and civics or government. The American history and civics has been required of practically all graduates and has been taken in the senior year by all students who have not had a two-year preparatory course in European history. For students who have had more historical training, and who started ancient history in the ninth year (the first year in high school), American history may be taken before the senior year. Some of these students go on and take a fourth year, either of advanced history or of social economics. The latter is a study of the elementary principles of economics and of social organization, together with a careful study of a fair number of economic and social problems or of political problems which are more or less economic and social in character. To a few students a four-year course is therefore offered. It consists of early European history to 1648 in the first year, modern European history since 1648 in the second year, American history and civics in the third, and economics with civic problems in the fourth. This course is not our general course, though one would like to think that most students give almost as much time to social science after they have started American history as they did to the historical development of the race in Europe.

The course which so far has been taken by most students who give considerable attention to social science consists of the two years of European history with a year of American history and civics. Years ago, when we were compelled to depend upon one textbook in ancient history and one textbook in medieval and modern, we found it unsatisfactory to make a division point between the two courses later than 1250, but gradually, by the development of some special outlines and later by pamphlets, the point of division was extended to 1450. For several years, it has been at the date 1648. One reason for the selection of that date has been the fact that students who have had access to a fairly brief account of ancient history have been able to take, even in their first year in high school, a course through the transition period from medieval to modern times; that is, to 1648. Students who have tried to go much farther than that in the nine months which constitute a school year in our school have had difficulty in securing a clear impression of the great changes over a longer period. A reason for selecting a date as late as 1648 was the desire on our part not only to socialize the history from the peace of Westphalia to the present time, but to make a careful study of the geography, resources and conditions in the most important European countries before the outbreak of the

Great War, as well as to study carefully general conditions in Europe during the early part of the twentieth century. Just as most schools have completed their courses in American history by a study of present political conditions in the United States, so we have aimed to include, even in a two-year course, a preliminary survey of European governments, national and municipal, of democracy, of trade, and of industry in the Old World, in addition to welfare work in Europe. We have arranged that those students, of whom we have a considerable number, who can spend only a year and a half on European history, can do so by devoting the first semester to ancient history, the second to medieval; that is, to the period from late Roman time to the peace of Westphalia, and the third in modern. To these students, however, we cannot give opportunity to study many important events of very recent times.

In the course in American history, to which about three-fifths of a year is given, special stress is placed upon the continuous development of world institutions as modified by American practice. We have omitted or neglected a great many of the older time-honored discussions, which seem to us to have little bearing upon the real development of the United States or direct connection with America to-day. In doing this, we have been forced, unfortunately for these students who expect to attend Eastern colleges, to omit, as we did in ancient history, a large number of favorite questions for college entrance examination. Moreover, in the course on American history and civics, if we were forced to make a choice of studying one from the standpoint of the other, we have usually tried to study the history from the civic point of view rather than the civic from the history point of view. I am well aware that in the opinion of a few college teachers of history such a treatment is little less than criminal, but I am not sure that they would take a much more lenient view of our whole scheme of things, because the whole plan is of a somewhat similar character. We should undoubtedly agree with our conservative college critics if the civics were the older study of constitutions or government, which passed as civics. On the contrary, when we speak of civics we are referring to a study of the American nation as an organized group of citizens, with numerous public organizations, interests and activities. In fact, *we have considered this new type of civics as the heart, and in a sense the foundation, of the new course in the social sciences.*<sup>6</sup> As stated above, we prefer that the students should have as much work as possible on civic organization, activities, and problems, subjects to which a brief course of fifteen weeks in "civics" gives him but a slight introduction.

<sup>6</sup> My ideas of the nature of the new civics are explained quite fully in the textbook entitled, "The New Civics." This is less a "New Civics," as it has frequently been called, than an "Introduction to the Study of The New Civics."

For the student who can take but *one year of history* special classes in American history and government are organized. These cover ground somewhat similar to that taken by the students who have already had two years or a year and a half of preliminary training. In fact, these pupils could be placed in the same class with other better prepared students; but, because there have always been in our school a number of classes of each kind, segregation makes it possible for the American history and civics students to go right on with a third year of continuous history work. Segregation also permits the beginner to go slow at first, and to receive more explanation, and gradually to master easy historical methods. Therefore he is not overwhelmed at the beginning, nor does he force the more advanced student to mark time while he is learning. If a student can take but one year of European history, the Pasadena course is so arranged that he may enter the second semester class of the first year and take with those students, first, the semester course designated as medieval history, and later, the semester course known as modern history, which gives a little, although not very much, on Europe in recent years. Unquestionably it does give more than practically all high schools have given until recent years in the history of the last half century.

Current history would naturally have a large place in such a course. To teach current history to students who have no background, either historical or civic, and make the work worth while, is a task of extreme difficulty. To discuss as current events the changes of the preceding week or even of the preceding month, without knowing what has gone before or understanding the general question or topic under discussion, has seemed to us almost futile. Especially in the more advanced classes, current events and questions and current history have been considered, so far as periodical literature was available for proper discussion of the latest phase of any problem, *if the proper background could be secured by the students or supplied without too great difficulty by the teacher.* Since the outbreak of the Great War, it has been found possible to follow larger movements, whether of armies on land or of international conflict on the sea. Since the United States came into the war, the Pasadena classes have gone much farther. War citizenship lessons have been prepared for more than a year on a fairly large number of war questions or problems, and we have been giving to advanced students a short semester course in the development of modern Europe from the standpoint of the war crisis. More than half of the semester is devoted to a study of Europe in the twentieth century. Economic, social, political and military conditions are studied in considerable detail.

We believe that a new high school course in social sciences can be built upon principles which are definite enough to be the basis of a general course, and flexible enough really to be adapted, in the form of special courses, to the needs of individual groups of students and of really important current problems.

#### NEW METHODS IN PASADENA COURSES.

The development during the last decade of courses which would carry out the ideas and plans represented in earlier paragraphs has been concerned less with the *content* of general and special courses than with the development of *new and better treatment* of the whole subject or of any particular phase.

This paper is already too long to give further space to a study of *the new methods* which are just as much a real part of the Pasadena plan as are the main purpose, general arrangement and content of courses. A few statements, however, will make clearer what we have been trying to do. First of all, we have aimed to build up, by the use of methods which are simple at first and afterward become more and more difficult, less a grasp of certain facts or even a knowledge of world progress, than a capacity for study, a comprehension of problems, a developed judgment, and a capacity for truer insight and clearer thinking. The recitation of the older type has been used comparatively little, but *the recitation of the newer type*, including a careful study of well prepared lessons on essentials, supplemented by volunteer work on non-essentials and other topics, is used in the Freshman year. In the more advanced classes and even in the second year, considerably more attention is given to *the development method* by which the student starts at a real beginning and works out a topic, not simply recites upon it. With more advanced students and with some groups even in the first year of the high school or the corresponding year in the intermediate school, the treatment is to some extent, and if possible, largely, from *the problem point of view.*

We believe thoroughly that the reorganization of courses is only a step and not the greatest step in advance over the old history work; that in order to get results *methods must be improved*, and that *the work must be made continuous and unified.* It goes without saying that we have come very far short of our own ideals or of those that others might expect of us; but we believe that we have created a well organized, unified course which is a contribution to the new education. The writer has given this rather long treatment of the Pasadena plan simply because it has been worked out in a rather full complete form from a somewhat different angle, and in a somewhat different way, from those employed in some other American high schools.

## IV. A Graphic Civics Exhibit

BY ESTHER GODSHAW, BLOOM JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL, CINCINNATI, O.

"What is a graphic civics exhibit?" This was the question the teachers of civics in the Cincinnati public schools were asking themselves soon after the Director of Civic and Vocational Service announced that we were invited to take part in a graphic civics exhibit.

It happened that the writer was a member of the small committee called to formulate plans for such an exhibit. We decided that the word "graphic" might refer to mathematical graphs dealing with civic problems, or that it might be used in the sense of any concrete, "telling" presentation of our city's interests. When the exhibit was ready, we found that each teacher had reacted to the stimulus of the title of the proposed exhibit in his individual way, with a result that was varied and vivid.

The exhibit, the outcome of about three months of preparation, was open to the public June 5 to 9, 1917. It was held in the first-floor of a prominent down-town building, and therefore seen by many busy people who would never have seen it if it had been held in a school building. It consisted of over 400 charts and a large number of models, including tenement houses, pioneer settlements, dumps, playgrounds, etc. The charts, posters and explanatory material were mounted on uniform cardboards, 22 by 28 inches, covering over 2,600 square feet of wall-space. The models were displayed on tables. The work exhibited was done entirely by the pupils, mainly of the seventh and eighth grades. The exhibits were grouped by schools, revealing the differences in the interests and problems of schools located in congested districts and of those in the suburbs.

The preparation of the exhibit was under the direction of Frank P. Goodwin, Director of Civics and Vocational Service. Mr. Goodwin was assisted by Wm. H. Vogel, Director of Art. In this way, the teachers of civics had the valuable assistance of the teachers of art in mounting the material prepared by the pupils. It was my personal experience that the effective display of the material prepared by my students depended greatly on the mounting with regard to balance and line. In addition to this valuable aid, some schools took up the designing of civic posters, from the art-room standpoint, including the study of color, design and lettering. These posters illustrated such topics as parks, playgrounds, industrial activities, public buildings, etc., and were most beautiful and effective.

The models were of wood or cardboard. There was one of the Canal, showing the effect of replacing weeds with school gardens along the banks. Another showed a model playground which had replaced an old graveyard. One model prepared by the girls of the Household Arts course (eighth grade) of the Bloom Junior High School showed the intimate connection that can be made between the study of civics

and other studies in the curriculum. These girls took the housing problem for their topic for the exhibit.

At first, we discussed it in relation to them as future housekeepers, gave topical reports on reference readings and studied the local building regulations and the work of the Building Commissioner. A representative of the Better Housing League came to school and gave us an illustrated talk on conditions in Cincinnati. We collected clippings from the daily press telling of houses condemned by the Commissioner and of the relation between the housing problem and the proposed rapid transit system. Then, enlightened by our study, we drew up plans for a model tenement house. With the co-operation of the teacher and the boys in the school shops, we were soon the proud possessors of a tenement building containing three two-room flats (the average size in our neighborhood), and a fourth floor for storage. Each room was 18 by 12 by 10 inches, with two windows and a door to the adjacent room. One room contained an "inside room," depending entirely on the outer room for its light and air.

The group of about forty girls was divided into three committees, appointed by the president of their Civics Club, for the classes are organized into clubs in order to gain practical experience in club life to prepare them to participate in Mothers' Clubs and other municipal clubs they may join in later life.

One committee had charge of furnishing a tenement "The Right Way," another committee showed "The Wrong Way," and the third furnished a flat labelled, "The Dirt They Left Behind Them," illustrating the way a dirty family vacates its home. All the curtains, bed-linens, and the clothes of the doll families who lived in the flats were made by these girls. They papered, carpeted, painted the pictures for the walls to show proper and improper interior decoration, and decided on many questions of interest to citizen-housekeepers. One enthusiast baked a diminutive loaf of bread to be left exposed in the dirty home on the table with dirty dishes and the ironing paraphernalia. One of the boys made us a fire-escape and gas fixtures in the metal shop.

Surely such a concrete study of good housing and right housekeeping will make these girls better citizens as well as enlightened home-makers. The pleasure they took in the work made it seem like play to girls, many of whom had never had a "play-house" before. The girls averaged 14 to 16 years.

Another model made at the Junior High School was the pioneer settlement prepared by the boys of the Industrial Arts Course and the girls of the Household Arts, Seventh Grade. The boys made the log-cabin and furniture—tables, chairs, benches cradle, churn, chopping-block, etc. An old well was made of pebbles and clay with bucket hanging on the sweep; a kettle hung on two uprights showed soap-making.



The girls dressed the pioneer family in linsey-woolsey garments with gingham bonnets and coonskin caps. The whole was set up in a sand-table planted with timothy seed, which grew quite high in ten days, and made a realistic clearing in the forest because the boys had nailed some old stumps here and there in the table. Cattle grazed about, while a tiny Indian maid peeped in the window to see these strange white people.

All of these concrete illustrations grew out of study of the pioneer settlements of our city. With this display was shown a map locating the first settlements in the neighborhood of Cincinnati, the first fort, public landing, survey, etc. There were also models of a flat-boat and a prairie-schooner, showing how the pioneers traveled. Needless to say, there was always a group of fascinated boys and girls about the pioneer settlement.

The charts and graphs illustrated many different topics. There was a series to show how the city is governed, with pictures of public buildings and officials, explained by brief statements of their powers and duties. A map showed the division of the city into wards, with the election of councilmen based on this division. One graph showed the passing of a city ordinance by Council, while another illustrated how national laws are made by showing the life of a bill as it goes from committee rooms to the houses and the president, including its experiences if it is vetoed. There was a series of charts showing how the city government serves the citizen throughout the twenty-four hours of the day. One series prepared by the boys of the Seventh Grade of the Junior High School showed the evolution of all the local public utilities, and was illustrated with original drawings showing primitive and present water-supply, transportation, etc. To accompany this, the boys had set up in the school print-shop a series of brief statements, such as "Public Utilities," "What the Public Wants," "Kinds of Utilities," etc.

Many purely neighborhood problems were presented, and steps outlined for their solution. For example, a dangerous crossing or a disturbing switch-

ing place. Maps of all kinds were shown. One, included in a study of the families of the pupils of one school, showed the location of the homes and the nationalities of the parents of the pupils. This was done with colored map-pins.

A "Current Topics" civic problem growing out of the war was presented by the Seventh Grade of the Commercial Course of the Junior High School. It was a study in immigration and naturalization. A Roumanian boy who has lived in this country only three years presented a composition, "Why I Am Glad to Live in America," and next to it was shown another, "Why I Am Proud to Be an American Citizen." There were brief statements on the requirements for naturalization, a graph showing Cincinnati's growth in population and area up to date, one showing the percentage of foreign population. With these were displayed a fac-simile of the Declaration of Independence, clippings about naturalization and immigration from the daily press and original drawings of immigrants and the taking of the oath of allegiance.

One class of the Junior High School took the problem, "What the School Does for the Community," and showed how the school reaches the home and through that serves the community.

It has been possible to mention only a few of the original ideas that were presented graphically by teachers from all parts of the city, working with pupils representing the many different classes of citizens found in a community with wide interests and numerous problems.

The exhibit served a threefold purpose. First, it gave parents and others an idea of the extent and value of the instruction in civics in the Cincinnati schools. Second, it afforded teachers and pupils of different neighborhoods an opportunity to profit by others' work along civic lines. Third, it gave the children an opportunity to express ideas in a graphic form, which is a sure test of knowledge.

But from the standpoint of one whose classes took part in the exhibit, the best part of the exhibit was the making of it.

## V. A Neglected Subject in Our Public School Curriculum

BY EDWARD E. HILL, CHICAGO NORMAL COLLEGE.

A notable movement to-day in the educational world is the attempt to bring the work of our schools more directly into line with the working life of the individual after he has left school. As a part of this movement there has come in response to a popular demand the vocational subjects into our school programs. Now there is one calling that every citizen of a democratic community should come to regard as one of his most important vocations, and that is the business of citizenship. If it is necessary in order to secure efficient service in the different trades and professions to introduce into our school programs special courses leading to these occupations, is it not

equally, or even more important to have a course leading to the practice of citizenship?

In the famous old Northwest Ordinance we find this declaration: "Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall ever be encouraged." This is only an echo of a similar sentiment expressed by the General Court of Massachusetts about a hundred and fifty years earlier when it enacted a law providing for a system of free schools in that colony. Out of this idea has grown our great free public school system—as we have it to-day. It was established primarily as a

necessary guarantee to the safety and development of democratic government.

Has our educational system, however, brought forth the good fruit along this line that our forefathers so confidently anticipated? Are all of our citizens even distantly acquainted with governmental processes, social needs, and political issues? Is our governmental machinery running smoothly along in its work, insuring domestic tranquillity, providing for the common defense and promoting our general welfare as it ought? Out of a delicate respect for our American pride let him only answer who never reads the newspapers and current periodicals, who has no cars for political gossip, and never comes into contact in any way with so-called "practical politics." Some of us have disagreeable suspicions at times that some of the people who draw salaries for serving us do not always consider our welfare first; that our political machine is not always constructed with the idea of giving the people a real chance to express their opinions and desires, that perhaps a majority of voters exercise the privilege of the franchise with about the same degree of intelligence as so many sheep; that we have escaped the rule of kings and princes only to fall a prey to despotic political bosses and piratical captains of industry, and that this thing that we parade with so much pride as democracy is in reality only a wolfish oligarchy operating under a democratic sheepskin. This is only a pessimistic suspicion, of course, which we harbor in moments of political dumps.

But however charitable we are disposed to be in this respect, if the value of our educational institutions is to be judged solely or largely by the character and work of our political institutions, they cannot be regarded as an undiluted success.

In this paper I wish to suggest briefly two or three reasons why our public schools have fallen short of their mission in this respect. In the first place, the general public and those who have been responsible for shaping our school programs have never realized sufficiently the importance of making civic training a definite and serious part of our school work. We have been inclined until recently to stake our everlasting salvation, individually and socially, upon the magic efficiency of the three R's. The founders of our public school system seem to have firmly believed that if a boy only learned to read and write and cipher all things else would be added unto him. Well, in the old days when the great majority of boys and girls were brought up in rural communities much was added to their school training through their outside occupations and sports, especially their occupations. Our forefathers had a good reason, perhaps, for laying special emphasis upon a mastery of the three R's in the schoolroom. But with changing conditions of life, with a larger and larger proportion of our boys and girls growing up in cities where there is little chance during their school years to get into touch with those outside activities which later they will be called upon to take part in, new demands must be made upon the school curriculum. This is especially true in the

matter of training for citizenship. To take part intelligently in the work of government in great cities calls for a training quite different from that which a rural community demands.

It was not, however, until the latter part of the last century that the subject of civics found a distinct place in the school program. Some haphazard instruction had been given along this line and also in history, it is true, in connection with reading and geography, but until about the close of the nineteenth century the aid of a powerful microscope would have been necessary to discover any distinct place set apart for civics in most school programs.

An investigation made only a short time ago seems to indicate the extent to which civics as a distinct subject has now found a place in our school curriculum. A letter of inquiry was addressed to 250 superintendents throughout the country. There were about 150 replies. From these it was learned that eighty schools, a little over 50 per cent., provided for the teaching of civics in the eighth grade, usually as a special subject during the last half year, 20 in the seventh and eighth grades, 8 in the sixth, seventh and eighth, 2 in the last four grades, 2 in the last five and one in all the grades.

So far as my knowledge extends, Chicago has the distinction of being the first city to introduce into its course of study that type of civic teaching which is just now beginning to star in the school world as "community civics." About fifteen years ago Henry W. Thurston, inspired by Professor Dewey's famous aphorism, "The school is not a preparation for life; it is life," worked out a plan for introducing civic study and training into all of the grades of the primary and elementary schools, which with some modifications has remained on paper, at least, an integral part of the course of study in the Chicago schools down to the present time.

I was careful to state that this course is on paper, at least, and it certainly looks well as printed in the "Outline." But a sense of honesty compels me to admit that so far as I have been able to discover it has been confined largely to paper. Outside of the practice schools of the normal school where Mr. Thurston and his assistants worked hard to get it into operation, and one or two districts where the district superintendents and some of the principals took a special interest in this line of work, this part of our course of study has remained for the most part a dead letter.

One reason for this becomes evident when we consult the "suggested time schedule" that accompanied the course of study. While considerable interesting subject matter in civics is printed in the course for each of the grades, no time at all was set apart for its study in the first four grades, except, incidentally, as English work. In the fifth grade 125 minutes a week is dedicated to history and civics combined, and in each of the remaining grades 150 minutes a week. This is like having a good dinner with no time to eat it.

In the new course of study adopted this past year



seventy-five minutes a week are set apart in the first three grades for a "combined course" made up of geography, history, nature study and civics, which means, of course, an average of fifteen minutes a day for the four subjects, and if the emphasis is equally distributed four and three-fourths minutes for civics. This seems somewhat microscopic, to be sure, when compared with the 775 minutes a week set apart exclusively for the study of English with another seventy-five minutes for penmanship, which is only English in another form. But three and three-fourths is better than nothing, and, as a faint ray of light, might almost inspire us with a hope for a dawning intelligence in the field of program-making for our schools. This hope is blasted, however, when we find that the time given to history and civics combined in the sixth, seventh and eighth grades has been cut down from 150 minutes a week to 125 minutes a week, which gives to history and civics together an average of about twenty minutes a day for the entire course, as against a daily average of 111 minutes for English and penmanship. Civics gets only a small portion of this twenty minutes. Even if the course were lived up to as outlined, an average of about five minutes a day would more than cover the time allotted to civics in this new course of study.

If we turn to the high schools of Chicago we find about the same conditions.

A recent investigation of civic work being done in these schools revealed the fact that seven out of the twenty-one high schools of the city had no classes in civics at all, while in the other fourteen schools only 954 pupils were giving some time to this subject. The total enrollment in the high schools for this semester was about 20,000, which means that about one out of every twenty students enrolled was studying civics at this time.

The requirements in the new course of study for high schools for graduation from a four-years' course are that a student must take physical education four years; English, three and one-half years; music and drawing, two years each; mathematics, science and United States history, one year each, and civics, one-half year. Music, drawing and physical education call for only two hours a week of class work with no outside preparation. This is something of an improvement over the preceding program, where only one out of four or five students who graduated from high school received any special instruction in civics at all. But a little study of the relative emphasis placed upon the different subjects may serve to quiet any fears that our conservative program-makers may have lest our high schools may fly the tangent in this direction.

Sixteen credits are required for graduation in all four-year courses. Of these 3.6 credits must be in English. In the General Course in language and history, 3.6 credits are required in a foreign language, making a total of 7.2 credits required in language study alone, nearly one-half of the work of the course. One and four-tenths credits in a foreign language are required in the General Course in science, and

strongly urged in the regular science course. The minimum requirements in the study of language in every course is, then, 3.6 credits, while in the General Course a pupil may elect as high as 13.52 credits in this field alone, leaving only 2.48 credits required in all other subjects. Compare this with the .6 credit which represents the maximum amount of work in civics that a student can take in any of the courses, and we can see the relative importance that our program-makers have attached to this subject.

Yet Chicago is no laggard in this respect when compared with other cities and towns in the United States. As we have already seen, this city was probably the first to give a place to civics in its printed program for all the grades of the primary and elementary schools, and the amount of work offered in its high school compares favorably with that offered in the high schools of other cities. Do we not find here an explanation why our democracy has not been more virile and efficient, and is there not good reason to complain that civics is a neglected study in our public schools?

Another reason why civics is neglected in our school program is found in the difficulties in the way of teaching this subject effectively. If it were only a question of acquiring certain facts about the organization of our different units of government, the names and duties of the different officials, how they are elected, their terms of office, salaries, etc., the matter would be a simple one. All that information can be learned from any good textbook. But any fruitful training in civics must go further than that. It must bring boys and girls into direct contact with civic realities and cultivate the habit of doing things as well as thinking and talking about them. The business of being an effective citizen is an art that can be acquired only by actual practice. As well try to train a boy to be a carpenter by showing him pictures of carpenter tools and telling him how they are used without giving him some chance to actually work at the business.

But unlike the industrial and fine arts the material for practice in civics can be brought into the school room to only a limited extent. Carpenter shops, blacksmith shops, machine shops, etc., can be set up within the school grounds for training in the industrial arts, studios for painting, drawing and music, gymnasiums for physical culture, and laboratories, and even school gardens for nature study. But how are the activities of the different governmental units and an appreciation of social needs that lead to these activities to be made a part of the actual experience of school children? This is the problem of the civics' teacher, and it is not an easy one.

To these two facts, first, that those high in authority in the school world, such as boards of education, superintendents and principals, seem to attach so little importance to the study of civics, and second, the fact that the subject is so difficult to teach profitably, is due the third reason, why the subject is a neglected one. Few teachers are to be found competent to teach the subject effectively, and few care to



or have the opportunity of specializing along this line. Less than a dozen of the 400 or more students who graduate each year from the Chicago Normal College get any chance to practice in civics, and most of these for only fifteen minutes a day for a period of ten weeks. Naturally, those preparing for the work

of teaching prefer to put in their time and energy in learning to teach those subjects most emphasized in the school program whose methods are more clearly mapped out, where they have textbooks and can follow beaten tracks, and where their success or failure as teachers is most likely to be judged.

## VI. Study of Current History a Basis of Democracy

BY HENRY A. FOSTER, HEAD OF HISTORY DEPARTMENT, STATE NORMAL SCHOOL, MARYVILLE, MO.

That our high schools and colleges should to some extent introduce the study of current history has become almost a truism. The movement has not reached all these schools, however; it is not, as a rule, done extensively enough where introduced; and it has gone very slightly into the grades where about ninety per cent. of our citizens get their educational equipment by which they are to make the land safe for democracy.

The attempt to make practical certain features of the curriculum may have gone too far already, but this is not so of history. It is one of the last to enter the lists for popular adaptation. It has been a subject of more general cultural value, and probably will remain largely so. However practical it may become the individual as a rule, will hardly expect to realize upon it directly. Cash-bargain hunters, consequently, seldom elect history. It has appealed rather to those inclined to culture per se, to those content with a moderate return for the time, if only through a long-term credit they may ultimately realize a more ideal intellectual attainment.

For certain vocations and professions, however, history has always been of real practical value; but with a greater democratization of the world, a greater knowledge of history, and other social sciences, *especially of current history*, becomes proportionately essential to the social efficiency of every man and woman. If we are to be safe in a democracy which has its source and security in the will of the people that popular will must spring from an intelligence capable of detecting and guiding the social trend in the light of historical experience and leading. If, indeed, our profuse laudations of popular sovereignty are not mere political provender for the shy common herd, or camouflage for other ulterior purposes, we should the more greatly bestir ourselves to a logical preparation for that near-millennium, or the logical disaster will follow in the wake of egregious blunder. Of course supine and pathetic Russia is far distant from us in many senses, but not too far to serve as a vivid illustration. The Great War, as crises always do, has revealed many a weakness of *our own* social order, and not least among them is general popular ignorance, and a consequent lack of sympathy, concerning current happenings and patriotic duty in the crisis. Democratization means socialization, and socialization rests on a sense of social team-work, and team-work is impossible without knowledge of the rules and knowledge of the personnel of the opposing team. And in this social game the rules and the

personnel change so rapidly as to put *simple* wits to confusion.

In fact, it seems that all our wits were *simple* as to the Great War of 1914. We even stood stupefied, so far had we missed the mark! Statesman, diplomatist, publicist, and historian alike had failed to consult the auspices. The "I-told-you-so's" were exceeding scarce. The above sentinels seemed to sleep at their posts; the people had no teachers; and the world tumbled into the limbo of autocratic destruction. And now out of the din of war struggling democracy reminds us that "Where there is no vision (interpretative of the passing social current) the people perish."

Is it not interesting to contemplate what might, or might not, have happened in the summer of 1914 had we preciously busied ourselves to know half as much of real conditions then indicating war as we now presume to know of causes which actually produced war? Even omitting all evidence made available by the contingencies of the war itself, was there not available to historical scrutiny, if only it had been exercised, many times over sufficient evidence to alarm us to preventive measures against the reign of terror of which we are now victims? With all due respect for the proverbial disparity between "hindsight" and "foresight" is it not an unanswerable indictment to say that in 1914 our interpreters of the times failed us? Here is an acknowledgment from one of the leading American historical students: "When the war broke out in 1914 everyone in America was astonished and almost everyone was quite unable to understand the fundamental causes of it." Another leading American historian says: "... it (the war) is the most important single event in the whole history of Europe and perhaps of the world." Yet this greatest of events came practically unheralded so far as the people of Europe or the world were concerned. We hear a voice from the dusty archives exclaim, "We are not engaged in professional prophecy." Evidently not, yet prophets we must have, and prophets we always do have, such as they are. If the historian's product does not contribute to the life of the race by furnishing a more intelligent leadership, where, pray, shall we enter his credit? Must we be content with the barren solace of the drunkard who said, "I don't know where I'm going, but I'm on my way," or shall we concentrate all the technical and scientific skill of many of our very best historical students in an attempt to envisage at least the immediate future to the end that the next greatest

world event may not fall upon us as a thief in the night? And have not teachers and writers of history labored under too great misapplication of that grog philosophy that fact must be seasoned with age before genuine or palatable to the historical sense? Time may bare the truth, and it may also obscure it. In a cross-section of the passing historical current there is always a great detail which if not photographed at the time is gone forever. We need historians with such a passion for current truth that they should set as their goal a complete and continual presentation of all this photographic detail in all its proper proportions. A prominent American historian recently expressed his emphatic disapproval of the idea that one should know more of Andrew Jackson whom he had not seen, than of Theodore Roosevelt whom he had seen. Of course, private correspondence, the proceedings of secret diplomacy, and certain other forms of historical source must await the revelations of time, but for historians, on this ground, to attempt to console a world impatient for current interpretative intelligence seems as absurd as an attempt of the physician to console his patient eager for diagnosis, by saying, "The symptoms have not clearly developed yet, but don't be alarmed, just rest quietly now and be assured that all will be revealed at the autopsy."

Now this necessity, on the part, not only of our leaders, but also of the public at large, for a more scrutinizing insight into the course of events seems to me one of the most pressing reforms for our educational system. It looks to a conservation of civilizing elements already obtained, as well as to the creation of the new. We shall be rich in the achievements which make for a better race rather by what we retain than by a *superabundance of creation*. The world is greatly in need of political and social containers for products already wrought, for containers which stand the test or avoid the impact of international collision. And in seeking this *modus vivendi* the combined intelligence of the race must be centered upon the solution of problems which are mainly political and social. How shall we secure this educational reform?

It is essentially a democratic movement. As calamity falls soonest and most heavily on the common man, so should he be most concerned in its avoidance. The prices of his products, his wages, and the freedom and security of his person are all vitally involved in an extension of his knowledge and control in current things. There must well up from beneath a universal demand for a leadership which continually reflects an intelligent interpretation of the times. There must be placed at the disposal of an ever more widely reading public a more reliable interpretative current literature. The teachers of all the public schools should greatly exert themselves to

enliven their students to a sense of private and public interest in the monthly, weekly, and daily news. When the teachers have created among the rising generation a passion for the truth of things they need most, and are, in fact, most eager to know, there will be created a great demand for a higher class current literature. Men of the more historical vein will become editors and take the "yellow" out of journalism. More books on recent happenings will come from the pens of skilled historians. Thus the *people* largely through the stimulating agency of the public school teachers may oust from his archival haunts the conservative and timid historian to administer to a famishing democracy a potion of the social and political elixir of life.

There is sufficient ground at this time, it seems to me, for a real crusade for this type of information. While the immediate necessities of the war urge it on, it is an ideal time to fix the habit and develop the technique for discriminate reading and culling of the news. The movement began, as was expected, in the public school, and now the colleges take it up. West Point's recent change of curriculum indicates a necessity for more English and history. The conservative American Historical Association catches the drift of the times and gives considerable attention to current history at the Philadelphia meeting. President Wilson sends out a plea urging earnest study of community and national life, and he establishes the Committee on Public Information through whose bulletins and other publications and services a fund of fact is contributed to public intelligence. Here we have evidence of a recognition by our scholars and leaders that the future will make unheard-of demands upon popular intelligence.

The fact of our having an army in Europe is significant in this regard. It means that the world contracts into an intimacy of relationship and interest of which we had hardly dreamed. Rapid transportation on sea and in air, the transmission of information on the untrammelled waves of wireless lightning, and the consequent enlargement of industrial, commercial, and social activity bring us overnight face to face with peoples and systems of whom we know too little. But while we experience a startling extensive expansion of interests we also experience an intensive expansion of interests. The growth of our own numbers at home and the consequent intensity of the struggle for existence produce a greater complexity of interests in our own midst. Hence, with an enlarged life both at home and abroad, it behooves us to expand our social and historical intelligence accordingly. We must become more acquainted with the traditions, prejudices, and detailed contemporary life of our new neighbors "over there." Thus only can we understand them, sympathize with them, and live with them in a world safe for democracy.

## Notes from the Historical Field

### HISTORY IN THE SUMMER SCHOOLS, 1919.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY LIST.

##### BROWN UNIVERSITY.

PROVIDENCE, R. I., JUNE 30 TO AUGUST 8.

Professor E. C. Griffith; Professor Sioussat.

English History Since 1603. Professor Griffith.

The Western Expansion of the United States. Professor Sioussat.

Current Events—Problems of Reconstruction. Professor Griffith.

##### UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY LIST.

LOS ANGELES, CAL., JUNE 30 TO AUGUST 9, 1919.

Professor Claude H. Van Tyne; Professor William A. Morris; Professor Thomas H. Reed.

The Historical Background of the Great War. Professor Van Tyne.

Great Britain and the British Empire Since 1815. Professor Morris.

The Political and Constitutional History of the United States. Professor Van Tyne.

The Teaching of History in Secondary Schools. Professor Morris.

American Government. Professor Reed.

Government of Cities. Professor Reed.

##### UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

#### ADDITIONAL COURSES.

Modern England, the Political, Social and Economic Development. Professor Read.

Europe and the Great War—Europe in the Twentieth Century and the Background of the War. Professor Read.

##### COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

#### ADDITIONAL COURSES.

NEW YORK CITY, JULY 7 TO AUGUST 15, 1919.

Professor Gambrell; Mr. Hatch; Miss Bucks.

The Teaching of History. Professor Gambrell.

Industrial and Social Aspects of History. Professor Gambrell.

The Teaching of Citizenship in Secondary Schools. Mr. Hatch.

Illustrative Lessons in American History. Miss Bucks.

Illustrative Lessons in Citizenship. Mr. Hatch.

##### UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS.

URBANA, ILL., JUNE 24 TO AUGUST 16, 1919.

Professor Greene; Professor Alvord; Assistant Professor Cole; Dr. Jones; Assistant Professor Ellingwood.

European History, 1815-1919. Dr. Jones.

American History, 1860-1919. Professor Greene, Assistant Professor Cole.

The Teaching of History. Professor Greene, Professor Alvord, Assistant Professor Cole, Dr. Jones.

The Italian Renaissance. Dr. Jones.

Biographical Studies in American History. Professor Alvord, Professor Greene.

Studies in Middle Western History, 1848-1870. Assistant Professor Cole.

Seminar in American History. Professor Greene, Professor Alvord.

Historiography and Historical Method. Assistant Professor Alvord.

Research in European History. Dr. Jones.

American National Government. Assistant Professor Ellingwood.

History of Political Theories. Assistant Professor Ellingwood.

##### INDIANA UNIVERSITY.

BLOOMINGTON, IND., JUNE 12 TO AUGUST 8.

Acting Professor Haworth; Assistant Professors Kohlmeier, Esarey.

Medieval and Modern History: Introductory Course. Mr. Haworth.

Western History. Mr. Esarey.

American History: From 1760 to 1816. Mr. Kohlmeier.

English History: Age of the Georges. Mr. Esarey.

Modern Europe: Revolutionary and Napoleonic Europe. Mr. Kohlmeier.

Seminary in American History. Mr. Haworth.

American Diplomatic History. Mr. Kohlmeier.

Constitutional and Political History of the United States, 1850-1865. Mr. Haworth.

Indiana History. Mr. Esarey.

American History: Introductory Course.

##### IOWA STATE COLLEGE.

AMES, IOWA, JUNE 16 TO JULY 23, 1919.

Professor L. B. Schmidt.

Economic History of Modern Europe. Professor Schmidt.

Economic History of American Agriculture. Professor Schmidt.

Seminar in the History of the West, 1860-1890.

##### UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

PHILADELPHIA, PA., JULY 7 TO AUGUST 16, 1919.

Professor Arthur C. Howland; Professor Albert K. Heckel; Professor James C. Ballagh.

American Political and Constitutional History. Professor Heckel.

The Issues of the War. Professor Howland.

The Teaching of History. Professor Heckel.

History of Europe in the Later Middle Ages. Professor Howland.

History of Modern England. Professor Heckel.

Current International Relations and the European Background of the Great War. Professor Ballagh.

America's Relation in the European War. Professor Ballagh.

### COMMITTEE ON TEACHING CITIZENSHIP.

There was organized at a meeting in the Manhattan Hotel, New York City, April 19, the National Committee for Teaching Citizenship.

In general, the aim of this committee is "to encourage the education of boys and girls of the United States concerning the origin and development of liberty, co-operation and democracy; the economic, political and social problems confronting democracy to-day; the responsibility of citizens in a democracy, and the ends and values of living."

The committee plans to devote its attention for the present to the development of social studies in secondary schools.

The committee is already in touch with the Bureau of Education; the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education of the National Educational Association; the American Sociological Association; the National Municipal League; and seeks to establish relations in addition with the American Political Science Association, the American Economics Association, and all other committees interested in the teaching of the social studies among boys and girls of school age.

The committee is frankly a propaganda committee, and hopes to give widespread publicity to the material in the Report of the Committee on Social Studies of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education of the National Education Association and to similar material showing the need for social studies in secondary schools.



Being essentially a propaganda committee it seeks the closest co-operation with the above-mentioned agencies and any duplication of work is unlikely.

The officers of the committee are: Chairman, Dr. Thomas M. Balliet, Dean, School of Pedagogy, New York University; vice-chairman, Daniel C. Knowlton, Central High School, Newark, N. J., and secretary, Harry H. Moore, Washington, D. C.

Among others interested are: Charles A. Beard, director of the Bureau of Municipal Research; James H. Tufts, University of Chicago; Roscoe L. Ashley, of the Pasadena High School; Henry R. Burch, of the West Philadelphia High School for Boys; William D. Lewis, of the William Penn High School; Ezra T. Towne, of the University of North Dakota; Edgar Dawson, Hunter College; and Robert D. Leigh, of Reed College.

#### THE AGRICULTURAL HISTORY SOCIETY.

At a meeting held in Washington, D. C., February 14, 1919, the Agricultural History Society was organized. The object of the new society, as stated in its constitution, is "to stimulate interest, promote the study and facilitate the publication of researches in the history of agriculture." Dr. J. Franklin Jameson was present at the opening meeting, and offered encouragement by an account of the small beginnings of the now flourishing American Historical Association.

A constitution was adopted and the following officers elected: President, Rodney H. True, Bureau of Plant Industry, Washington, D. C.; vice-president, W. J. Trimble, Idaho State University, Moscow, Idaho; secretary-treasurer, Lyman Carrier, Bureau of Plant Industry, Washington, D. C.; additional members of executive committee, R. W. Kelsey, Haverford, Pa., and O. C. Stine, Office of Farm Management, Washington, D. C.

According to latest accounts the membership of the society has reached one hundred and forty. Anyone wishing to become a member may do so by sending his name and the annual dues of one dollar to the secretary-treasurer as named above.

## Periodical Literature

BY GERTRUDE BRAMLETTE RICHARDS, PH.D.

"Poland as a Barrier" is discussed by H. N. Brailsford in the *New Republic* for March 3. Mr. Brailsford is writing from Poland, and says: "The most disturbing feature of Polish politics is that in all its many groups there is none which calls itself and which deserves to be called liberal. The Socialists are of the right wing, opportunist, intensely nationalist, and withal few in numbers. The Peasant party (Populists) is a class agrarian organization, though with strong idealist tendency among its leaders and an outlook that is essentially humane. But the little middle class liberal group failed to return a single member, and plainly it has no future."

In the last *Nuova Antologia*, Signor Vittorio Sergi is firmly convinced "that the redemption of Trieste must be conjoined with that of Fiume, since the commercial and economic existence of Trieste is indissolubly connected with that of Fiume."

"America's cause is that of Ireland." Only those Americans who are not acquainted with the facts—the facts of Irish participation in this nation, the facts showing the identity of cause—can honestly oppose liberty and justice for Ireland," says Michael Williams in his "Ireland at Last" (*Catholic World* for May, 1919).

Guy S. Ford says in "The Prussian Peasantry before 1807" (*American Historical Review* for April, 1919): "The feudal agriculturalism (the conditions in Prussia) remained a persistent force in the social and political organization of the Prussia which in the last fifty years entered into the larger field of German and then of European and world history."

"The North Sea Mine Barage," by Captain Reginald Belknap, U. S. N. (which appears in the current *National Geographic Magazine*), describes most interestingly the mine barage laid by American and British mining squadrons, which more than anything else led to a failure of the submarine warfare.

In the April number of *Russia*, Sterling H. Bunnell, in his discussion of "Russia: The Recuperating Station of Europe," claims that "foreign trade with the United States and the Allies is absolutely essential to making Russia free for democracy. . . . Above all, Russia needs the establishment of a high standard of business ethics like the standards of America, England and France. If the United States and the Allies take advantage of the opportunities offered at this moment by the German collapse, we can make so good a start at reclaiming Russia from German domination that German efficiency need have no terror for the future."

In the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* for March, Prof. Irving Fisher, of Yale, discusses "Humanizing Industry," and says: "The I. W. W. workingman is the naughty boy of industry. If the energy which makes him destructive had been enlisted for constructive work, he might have made a more useful workingman than his more docile brother."

"The Destruction of the Papal States," by John C. Revelle, S.J., in *America* for May 3, is a brief, but well-told account of the Roman situation in 1870.

In "Americanization and Immigration," Robert de C. Wood (*Review of Reviews* for May) says: "We have come to realize that in spite of the splendid record which our soldiers and sailors of foreign birth or parentage made in the war, there is still a real and very important task of assimilation remaining to be done. . . . No thorough Americanization can be accomplished unless the numbers of alien immigrants are kept within the law."

In the *Miestro Tiempo* for February, Manuel Conrotte discusses the relations of the papacy and the House of Hapsburg under the leadership of Maria Theresa, in an article on "The Temporal Power of the Popes in the Eighteenth Century."

Professor Taussig, in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, published by Harvard University Press, gives an account of the work of the Price-Fixing Committee of the War Industries Board. He says: "So far as the experiment went and so long as it lasted the outcome seems to me to have been good. . . . There is nothing in all the price-fixing experiences to prove or disprove the contention that irrespective of legislative or administrative fiat, the general economic forces must work out general effects."

## BOOK REVIEWS

EDITED BY PROFESSOR WAYLAND J. CHASE,  
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN.

**WAR BOOK OF THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN.** Papers on the Causes and Issues of the War. By Members of the Faculty. Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1918. Pp. 266. 50 cents.

A score of members of the faculty of the University of Wisconsin co-operated in preparing the articles collected in this excellent little volume. The series as a whole was mapped out with care and wisdom, and each contributor has prepared his article with accuracy and skill. Five articles discuss "Who is Responsible for the War?" five describe "How Germany Makes War," two expound the nature of "Militarism in German Life and Thought," three explain the relations between "The United States and Germany," and four set forth "The Issues at Stake." Brief bibliographical notes at the close of each article refer to a few of the best books available in English.

While the several articles were prepared and circulated for the purpose of propaganda, the appeal is not to the emotions, but to reason. The evidence has been sifted with care and discretion, and presented in concise, simple, direct style, with abundant and admirably chosen quotations from official and other accredited sources. Calmness and fairness of tone give vigor to the indictment of German autocracy and militarism. Few sentences are merely rhetorical, but the Christian conscience and the American spirit speak from every page with earnest conviction for righteousness in international relations and for liberty and democracy among the peoples. As the reader closes each article he finds himself moved to exclaim: Our cause is just!

Though the war may be won, the usefulness of this volume should not be past. Either as a substantive text or as collateral reading this book, or at least many of its articles, should continue to service in classes in contemporary history, civics, current events, and English. The new generation must not be ignorant of the evils of autocracy and militarism, nor of the crimes of Germany; it must have specific knowledge and clear convictions to strengthen its faith in democracy and international justice, and to inspire its efforts for their preservation.

GEORGE MATTHEW DUTCHER.

Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.

**GRANT, A. J.** A History of Europe. Revised edition. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1917. Pp. xiv, 778. \$2.75.

It is with misgivings that a reviewer takes up a single volume history of Europe by a member of the school which produced the "Cambridge Modern History." Fortunately, the anticipated drearily monotonous array of facts does not greet him, but instead he is gladdened with a clear, readable narrative. The author justly prides himself on his artistic restraint in the omission of mere dates, names, and facts; he is aware that he has a good story to tell, and he has endeavored with real success to tell it well. Though fashioned as a text-book, the volume is more than a manual for cram and drill; it can be read for pleasure and with profit by anyone who has an interest in history.

The proportions are admirably observed, the facts are accurate, and the judgments restrained. A score of excellent maps illumine the pages, discriminating bibliographical

notes guide the reader to the best books in English on the successive periods, and a good index completes the volume.

The author has confined himself strictly to the field indicated by his title; he omits the early Oriental and Egyptian history at the outset and begins with the Homeric age; at the close he surveys the characteristics of the Great War, but refrains from going afield into Asiatic, African, or American matters which have somewhat overtopped merely European affairs in the latest age. This careful preservation of the unity of his subject, he also rightly justifies from another important point of view. "Events," he says, "are not presented in their true proportions or in correct perspective, if they are always looked at from Berlin or Paris; and the attempt to judge them all from the meridian of London would be even less successful. If the history of Europe is worth study it is because the subject has a unity in itself, apart from that which belongs to the life of any particular state. Its great service is to correct national egotism, to allow of unbiased comparisons between different systems of life and government, and to emphasize the interdependence of the different elements of the commonwealth of Europe."

The addition to the revised edition of four chapters dealing with Britain in the last four centuries does not vitiate this principle expounded in the original preface. The new edition also has two new chapters on the period since the

## The Historical Outlook

A JOURNAL FOR READERS, STUDENTS, AND  
TEACHERS OF HISTORY.

*Continuing The History Teacher's Magazine.*

Published Monthly, except July, August and September, by  
MCKINLEY PUBLISHING CO.,  
1619 RANSTEAD STREET, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

ALBERT E. MCKINLEY, Editor.

THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK was founded in 1909 under the name of *The History Teacher's Magazine*. Its scope and aims gradually broadened until it made an appeal to all persons interested in the historical roots of the present.

THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK is an organ of *The American Historical Association* which has appointed an advisory committee composed of Chairman Prof. Henry Johnson, Prof. Fred Morrow Fling, Dr. James Sullivan, Miss Margaret McGill, Prof. Oscar H. Williams, Prof. Frederic Duncalf.

THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK is edited in close co-operation with the *National Board of Historical Service*, of Washington, D. C., composed of the following persons: Prof. D. C. Munro, chairman; Prof. J. Schaefer, vice-chairman; W. G. Leland, secretary-treasurer; Prof. C. Becker, Dr. V. S. Clark, Dr. R. D. W. Connor; Profs. A. C. Coolidge, W. E. Dodd, C. R. Fish, G. S. Ford, E. B. Greene, S. B. Harding, C. H. Haskins, C. D. Hazen, C. H. Hull; Dr. G. Hunt; Dr. J. F. Jameson; Profs. H. Johnson, W. E. Lingelbach, Dr. C. Moore; Major F. L. Paxson; Profs. J. T. Shotwell, and F. J. Turner.

THE SUBSCRIPTION PRICE is two dollars a year. Back numbers are available in bound form at three dollars a volume, and in unbound form at twenty-five cents a copy.

Franco-German war. Many will thank the author for printing opposite the first page of his narrative the unrivalled portrayal of the wonder of man's record on earth given by Sophocles in one of the choruses of the *Antigone*.

GEORGE MATTHEW DUTCHER.

Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.

HUARD, FRANCES WILSON. *My Home in the Field of Honor*. New York: George H. Doran Co., 1916. Pp. 302. \$1.35.

HUARD, FRANCES WILSON. *With Those Who Wait*. New York: George H. Doran Co., 1918. Pp. 255. \$1.50.

Madame Huard is of American birth, the daughter of Francis Wilson, the comedian. The Huard chateau in France was sixty miles northeast of Paris, near the Marne, and practically on the direct road from Metz to the French capital. Caught here in the first furious rush of the German advance, she becomes eyewitness of the horrors and heroisms of the retreat of a civilian population, and is borne along by it. It is this aspect of war which the first of these books depicts with a vividness that reveals all its panic and horror.

The second book describes the industry, the fortitude and the burning patriotism of the French civilian population in town and country in this war period, and is a revelation both of the French character and of woman's indispensable service to the national cause. Though boche outrages appear in the picture, there is little bitterness in these narratives, but much humor, cheerfulness, human sympathy and womanly pity. Because of these qualities, together with the simplicity of the accounts and their genuine flavor of reality, these books are among the most illuminating descriptions of the French people at this period of their history. The illustrations are from the sketches of the author's husband, Charles Huard, official painter of the war to the Sixth Army of France.

LATOURETTE, KENNETH SCOTT. *The Development of Japan*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1918. Pp. 237. \$1.50.

The publisher's statement in regard to this book, "Within the compass of a small volume the author has succeeded in arranging the recent history of Japan to better effect than has been done in any book in English," is more completely borne out by the facts than is often the case. It is also true that the language of the book is clear, simple, direct.

The first chapter contains the geographical setting, and this is followed by a condensed account of Japanese history giving an outline of the most important facts and tendencies up to 1853, all of which is contained in five chapters of about seventy pages. With page eighty begins the development of Japan since 1853 in politics, economics, education, and religion, all of which is treated in greater detail showing how past tendencies have evolved and been changed or modified by outside or foreign influences. The author shows how and why Japan had differed so much from China whose civilization Japan originally took over, and incidentally there is revealed the reason why the Japanese government closely resembles that of Germany in some respects.

But one map is supplied in the volume, and that nothing more than a sketch outline of the Japanese Empire and divisions immediately adjacent. The bibliography, though brief, is well annotated and the index is fairly adequate.

The book has slight errors which may easily be corrected in a new edition. The use of Yedo and Tokyo (pages 67, 68) is somewhat confusing. The author would seem to make these two places the same, but after clearly indicating that they are identical he refers to the highway between them. One might criticize his use of the phrase, "men of the world," in connection even with the most polished gentlemen of Japan as long as they were confined strictly to their own island and to their own culture (page 75). A sample of the purely typographical error is probably the statement (page 115) that the Ex-Shogun "did not die until the second decade of the nineteenth century." Such mistakes as these do not affect the real value of the book, which is one that any student of the Far East ought to read as an introduction. As a textbook for college classes on Japanese history it undoubtedly will prove a success, and as a reference book for high school classes who are taking up modern European history it would have a place of great usefulness, for it is some time since Japan could be considered outside the circle of the great world states.

The wish of the author expressed in the introduction that "the volume" might help "to a better and more sympathetic understanding of the Island Empire" is quite reasonably fulfilled.

ARTHUR I. ANDREWS.

Tufts College.

LATANE, JOHN HOLLADAY, PH.D., LL.D. *From Isolation to Leadership: A Review of American Foreign Policy*. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1918. Pp. 215. \$1.00.

The central thread of the ten chapters of this small timely volume is the question of participation in world politics—either in protection of American rights and principles or by co-operation in affairs of general interest.

Although the volume evidently is largely a growth from earlier studies in diplomatic relations and from preparation of various public addresses, its present appearance was doubtless influenced by the President's bold announcement of January 22, 1917, proposing that the nations should adopt the Monroe Doctrine and disentangle themselves from secret alliances, and also by the astonishing achievement of America in the World War. It is not a presentation of new materials, but a clear and well-articulated statement, a progressive and judicious summary and interpretation, of a large mass of facts which the author has digested and assimilated. It presents main points in continuity of development, without tiresome details. It is without footnote references or bibliographic appendix, but has a convenient index. Necessarily, as planned, it omits many incidents which one might expect or wish to find mentioned.

Doctor Latane briefly and clearly sketches the essential features in the development of the two chief phases of American policy—the traditional policy of political isolation and the Monroe Doctrine, between which he makes a clear distinction which many writers have not made. Perhaps he too strongly emphasizes the idea that American maintenance of the doctrine without resort to force has really rested only on the existence of a nicely adjusted European balance of power. In view of recent events he justifies the secret diplomacy and motives of Roosevelt as a positive factor in preserving the balance of power in Europe against the German Kaiser's designs in connection with the Algeiras conference of 1906. He indicates that American diplomacy in the Orient has had a freer hand, illustrated by Perry's Japan expedition and later by the re-



tention of the Philippines as a naval base, and to prevent their seizure by Germany. In a brief review of Anglo-American relations, he suggests the possibility of a closer Anglo-American understanding and co-operation. He properly states that the traditional policy of isolation from world politics, justified in the early experimental days of American democracy but too long restricting America in the face of international responsibilities and of opportunities for useful international service, finally became an impossibility under new conditions, and in the complexity of diplomacy resulting from the emergence of Japan as a first-class world power, and was rightfully dispelled and abandoned under the conditions of the unequal world conflict between aggressive, merciless might and defensive right. He asserts that the President, in making the decision against a policy of isolation and in favor of participation in the struggle to secure peace, "assumed an unparalleled moral leadership" by clearly formulating the chief issues.

Doctor Latane has performed a useful service by placing in convenient form this interesting narrative of the evolution of the fundamental principles and complicated questions of foreign policy, which should facilitate the study of the subject and furnish to Americans an opportunity to obtain a wider knowledge of reliable facts—a knowledge which is required to reduce the necessity of secret diplomacy in a democracy. His volume deserves to be widely read. It will prove satisfactory and useful to the student of international questions, and is especially adapted to the use of the general reader who does not have the time for a fuller treatise.

J. M. CALLAHAN.

West Virginia University.

DAVIS, WILLIAM STEARNS. *The Roots of the War*. New York: The Century Co., 1918. Pp. 557. \$1.50.

This book, described as "a non-technical history of Europe, 1870-1914, A. D.," and written in collaboration with William Anderson and Mason W. Tyler, is the best account in English and in moderate compass of the origins of the war. The essential facts of the last half-century are presented without unnecessary or fatiguing details, and the narrative form, which is adhered to wherever possible, enables the reader to appreciate the gradual evolution of the forces which brought on the war. These features, coupled with an easy and at times dramatic style, recommend the book for class-room purposes, although the general reader will find it decidedly entertaining. There is an adequate equipment of maps. Much to be commended are the frequent quotations from documents and memoirs and the narration of picturesque and piquant incidents. Thus the impression is left that the actors in the great drama were not mere automatons or soulless statesmen, but human beings of flesh and blood whose actions were controlled as often by prejudice and passion as by calculated interest. In other words, the authors have anticipated the recent plea of the president of the American Historical Association that history should be made "interesting."

The principal theme of the volume is Germany—her political institutions, her junkers and militarists, her ambitions and the policy that sought to realize them; quite properly so, likewise the emphasis given to Bismarck and William II. Professor Davis often draws upon his own experiences in Germany to adorn the tale he is telling. The other belligerents, however, are not neglected, and there is a fairly complete picture of the "European anarchy." The most stimulating chapter describes "The Last Years in the Fool's Paradise," a vigorous indictment of the pacifist pro-

paganda before the war, the principal achievement of which, Mr. Davis believes, was to *travailler pour la roi de Prusse*.

One or two points call for comment. It was undoubtedly worth a good deal to begin with a dramatic event like the Franco-German War, "the great war which bred a greater," but is it wise to describe this first and then postpone for more than a hundred pages the discussion of the struggle for German unity of which that war was the culmination? In the chapter on "The Hapsburg Empire," the Southern Slav question is not sufficiently emphasized; Magyar policy in Croatia is adequately treated, but the reaction of that policy upon the other branches of the Southern Slavs and its relation to the dualistic organization of the Monarchy are not clearly brought out. Incidentally, "Dual Empire" is not "the term commonly applied to the Austro-Hungarian Empire." Of course there is no vital distinction between Empire and Monarchy, but since most of the troubles of that unfortunate state grew out of Magyar insistence upon precise historical rights and claims of the kingdom of Hungary, it is well to use exact terminology. Nor can one approve of such sentences as "The high diplomats refused to get excited as they smoked twisted Russian cigars and read the dispatches." But these are minor points. The book is sound in its scholarship, therefore convincing, and the downright virile language in which the authors express their convictions about men and events is distinctly pleasing.

BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT.

Western Reserve University.

WOODBURN, JAMES ALBERT, AND MORAN, FRANCIS. *The Citizen and the Republic*. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1918. Pp. xlvii, 398. \$1.50.

This volume is a text-book for courses in American government in secondary schools. Its aim is to meet the demand for something practical for use in connection with so-called "community civics," and at the same time to put the student in possession of such information as will enable him to understand how the states and the nation, as well as the city, are governed. The authors have produced an unusually good piece of work, a book that is not only unusually clear and informing, but also interesting and readable. The material is well proportioned and the arrangement is admirable. It begins with an explanation of what citizenship is, together with an account of suffrage qualifications, thus establishing at the start the point of contact between the individual and the state. After a survey of some governmental problems that confront the people at the present day, the chapters take up, in order, local, state, and federal government. The book is far more than a dry analysis of forms and constitutions. It shows how the government operates, and in this connection the importance of unwritten customs is duly emphasized. Adequate attention is devoted to political parties and party machinery, and this material is introduced in such a way that it makes plain the intimate relationship of these organs to the government as a whole. Teachers of civics will, or at least should, welcome a text which is far superior to the traditional "pot-boiler."

RALPH VOLNEY HARLOW.

Simmons College.

THE EDUCATION OF HENRY ADAMS. *An Autobiography*. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1918. Pp. 519. \$5.00.

Every history teacher will find in this book both inspiration and exasperation. The inspiration will be due to the fact that it is packed with the ripe judgments of a great

historian. Adams lived within the circle of persons acquainted with great affairs, as three generations of his people had lived before him. He was educated in the presence of the leaders of the Middle Period; and after the death of George Bancroft he became in a way the Washington representative of American letters. Lafayette Square has been the centre of many movements, and from the observation post that Henry Adams erected on its north side everything that affected American life could be seen or heard.

Although in this volume Adams is unwilling to concede any good of himself, and affects a pose of caustic self-analysis, it has been impossible for him to disguise his critical insight or his scholarly touch. In spite of his affectations, he illumines the generation in which his "education" occurred. His influence as a history teacher still affects the habits of work and thought of his students, who lead in the profession. His formal writings come as near to being standards of form and content as the United States has produced. His reflections are those of an able mind, bred to affairs, trained to investigation, and expert in instruction. The exasperation of his readers is provoked by the self-analysis which the facts belie.

In his perverse mood, Adams asks the world why train "an active mind to waste his energy" in profitless historical research; for its "method led nowhere" and its "science had no system." "For all serious purpose, it [history] was less instructive than Walter Scott and Alexandre Dumas." But only a few paragraphs removed from this outburst of pessimism his dicta sum up the limitations and the function of our trade: "No man can instruct more than half a dozen students at once. The whole problem of education is one of its cost in money." "A parent gives life, but, as parent, gives no more. A murderer takes life, but his deed stops there. A teacher affects eternity; he can never tell when his influence stops." No more can Henry Adams tell when his work will stop, despite the mental pose that pretends to obscure the fact.

There is an adequate and able analysis of the work of Adams by Professor Becker in the *American Historical Review* for April, 1919.

F. L. P.

LAVELL, C. F., AND PAYNE, C. E. *Imperial England*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1918. Pp. 395. \$2.50.

In this work the associated authors have traced the development of British power over the seas from the days when Martin Frobisher sailed forth to search for the north-west passage (1576) to the closing year of the Great War. To compress the record of three and a half centuries of great and varied activities into a volume of less than four hundred pages is a difficult task, realizing which the authors have tried to limit themselves to a consideration of the larger aspects of the subject only. The work is, therefore, chiefly a study of the "forces, motives, and aims that have rendered the British Empire possible." Occasionally the story of some episode, such as the Indian mutiny, or the career of some great leader or pioneer, such as Clive, Captain Cook, or Livingstone, is told in considerable detail; but in general the narrative moves quite swiftly and often by long leaps, the authors being interested in the larger results rather than in events, methods or processes.

A student of English imperialism, one who brings to the reading some knowledge of how the British Commonwealth of Nations has come into being, will find "Imperial England" an interesting and stimulating book. It is remarkably well written and makes delightful reading. The lack

of significant details is likely, however, to prevent the work from being as useful as it otherwise might be in secondary school instruction, and the reviewer fears that the same will be true in elementary college classes.

The attitude of the authors toward their common theme is sympathetic throughout, though they realize that there are passages in English colonial history that are difficult to interpret to the satisfaction of those who believe in the essential justice and wisdom of British imperial policies. In discussing the causes of the American Revolution, Professor Payne very properly emphasizes the development of western nationalism, but on the other hand, he seems to have yielded to the present temptation to lay the larger share of the responsibility for the separation at the foot of the English throne; George III was surely not without blame, but the governing classes in England appear to have seconded his efforts at repression, at least so long as there was any chance of a victory. Professor Payne has also contributed a very informing chapter on "the effects of the Great War upon the Empire," which unfortunately had to be written before the war had been brought to a close. Professor Lavell (who has written the greater part of the volume) has found it expedient to include a brief discussion of "the case of Ireland," in which the present status of the Irish problem is clearly set forth, but in which the author wisely refrains from giving advice or attempting prophecy.

LAURENCE M. LARSON.

JORDAN, DAVID STARR. *Democracy and World Relations*. Yonkers, N. Y.: World Book Co., 1918. Pp. vii, 168. \$1.20.

This book was designed by publishers and author as "an elementary exposition of democracy as related to the community of nations, and to the problems of war and peace." Its aim is "to show that self-government is essential to freedom, order, and justice, and that the permanence of democracy is bound up with international peace, while the dynastic system is antagonistic to both democracy and peace." In subject matter the work includes an analysis of democracy itself, together with its bearing upon nationalism, oppressed peoples, imperialism and colonial administration, diplomacy, and the new order of internationalism. To bring out the advantages of democracy the writer contrasts the dynastic system, in other words the recently deceased German Empire, with the democratic state, while for good measure he adds an appendix upon Pangermanism. Many of the ideas and much of the information will be found valuable, though practically all of it is easily accessible in better form elsewhere.

So far as arrangement is concerned the book is, to say the least, unfortunate. Several of the chapters lack unity and perspective. The worst offender in this respect, Chapter III, seems to have been compiled by the very simple method of copying off a series of disconnected notes upon all phases of nationalism. If the author could not organize and interpret that bewildering array of definitions, axioms, and, worse yet, of platitudes, he may be sure that the reader will not take the trouble to do it for him. The volume is too obviously one of those by-products of the war, a bit of the flotsam and jetsam of the publishing trade. If Dante were in a position to revise his great masterpiece, he would perhaps find room in the depths of the Inferno for the writers of this sort of thing, spending a ghastly eternity in the perusal of their own works.

RALPH VOLNEY HARLOW.

Simmons College.

BOOKS ON HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT PUBLISHED  
IN THE UNITED STATES FROM MARCH  
29 TO APRIL 26, 1919.

LISTED BY CHARLES A. COULOMB, PH.D.

AMERICAN HISTORY.

- Albany County, N. Y. Early records of the city and county of Albany, and colony of Rensselaerswyck. Albany, N. Y.: Univ. of State of N. Y. Vol. 3, \$1.00; Vol. 4, 60 cents.
- Bond, Beverly W., Jr. The quit-rent system in the American colonies. New Haven, Ct.: Yale Univ. 492 pp. (6½ pp. bibls.). \$3.00.
- Chapman, Charles E. Researches in Spain; containing the introduction to the catalogue of materials in the Archivo General de Indias for the history of the Pacific Coast and the American Southwest. Berkeley, Calif.: Univ. of Calif. 30 pp.
- Foster, Herbert D. Stark's independent command at Bennington [etc.]. Manchester, N. H.: Standard Book Co., 64 Hanover St. 173-228 pp. 75 cents.
- Gannon, Frederick A. Ways of a worker of a century ago as shown by the diary of Joseph Lye, shoemaker. Salem, Mass.: F. A. Gannon. 25 pp. 25 cents.
- Horner, John B. Oregon, her history [etc.]. Corvallis, Ore.: J. B. Horner. 408 pp. \$2.00.
- Pope, Charles H., editor. The Plymouth scrapbook; the oldest original documents extant in Plymouth archives. Boston: C. E. Goodspeed & Co. 149 pp. \$5.00.
- Purcell, Richard J. Connecticut in transition, 1775-1818. Wash., D. C.: Am. Hist. Assn., 1140 Woodward Bldg. 471 pp. (34 pp. bibls.). \$1.50.
- Walker, Edwin R. Lenni Lenape or Delaware Indians. Trenton, N. J.: E. R. Walker. 27 pp.
- Waller, Elbert. Illinois pioneer days. Litchfield, Ill.; E. B. Lewis. 80 pp. 25 cents.
- Willard, James F., editor. The Union colony at Greely, Colorado, 1869-1871. Boulder, Col.: Univ. of Col. 412 pp. \$3.00, net.

ANCIENT HISTORY.

- Burchett, Bessie R. Janus in Roman life and cult. Menasha, Wis.: G. Banta Pub. 75 pp. \$1.00.
- Ferrero, Guglielmo, and Barbagnallo, C. A short history of Rome. Vol. 2, 44 B.C. to 476 A.D. N. Y.: Putnam. 516 pp. \$1.90, net.
- Pausanias. Description of Greece. [Loeb Classical Library.] In 6 vols. Vol. 1, bks. 1, 2. N. Y.: Putnam. 457 pp. \$2.25, net.
- Plutarch. Plutarch's Lives. In 11 vols. Vol. 6, Dion and Brutus, Timoleon and Aemilius Paulus. (Loeb Classical Library.) N. Y.: Putnam. 477 pp. \$2.25, net.
- Southworth, Gertrude V. A student's study guide in ancient history. Syracuse, N. Y.: Iroquois Pub. Co. 107 pp. 50 cents.

EUROPEAN HISTORY.

- Alsace-Lorraine protests; translated from the original French records. Angel's Camp, Calif.: D. Fricot. 32 pp.
- American Assn. for Internat. Conciliation. 1. Russian documents. 2. The Russian constitution. 3. The Russian land law. 4. The Franco-Russian Alliance. N. Y.: Am. Assn. for Internat. Concil. 125 pp.
- American Assn. for Internat. Conciliation. 1. Yugoslavia. 2. Declaration of Independence of Mid-European Union. 3. Declaration of Independence of the Czechoslovak nation. 4. Declaration of Corfu. N. Y.: Am. Assn. for Internat. Concil. 30 pp.
- Friedman, Elisha M. Labor and reconstruction in Europe. N. Y.: Dutton. 216 pp. (7 1-3 pp. bibls.). \$2.50, net.
- Hupert, Julius A. Emancipation of the Slavs. New Britain, Ct.: J. A. Hupert. 69 pp.

THE GREAT WAR.

- Academy of Political Science. War labor policies and reconstruction. N. Y.: Acad. of Pol. Science. 224 pp. \$1.00.
- André, C. H. A. Above the battles. [French aviation corps.] N. Y.: Doubleday, Page. 243 pp. \$1.50, net.

- Benjamin, Lewis S. German propagandist societies. Wash., D. C.: Gov. Pr. Off. 15 pp.
- Gibbs, Philip. The way to victory. In 2 vols. Vol. 1, the menace; vol. 2, the repulse. [Continues author's history of war, from the battles at Cambrai, 1917, to the armistice.] N. Y.: Doran. 398, 278 pp. \$5.00, net.
- Gilliland, Capt. H. G. My German prisons. [Two and one-half years of captivity in Germany and final escape.] Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 259 pp. \$1.50, net.
- Iowa State Hist. Soc. Tentative outline of a county war history. Iowa City, Ia.: State Hist. Soc. 22 pp. 10 cents.
- Isaacs, Edouard V. Prisoner of the W-90. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 184 pp. \$1.25, net.
- Jellicoe, John R., Viscount. The Grand Fleet, 1914-1916. N. Y.: Doran. 510 pp. \$6.00, net.
- Kellogg, Maj. Walker G. The conscientious objector. N. Y.: Boni and Liveright. 141 pp. \$1.00, net.
- Maurice, Maj. Gen. Sir Frederick. Forty days in 1914. [Mons retreat.] N. Y.: Doran. 212 pp. \$2.00, net.
- U. S. Dept. of State. Diplomatic correspondence between the United States and Germany, August 1, 1914, to April 6, 1917. N. Y.: Oxford Univ. 378 pp. \$3.50, net.
- Zook, George F. Building a bridge of ships, 18 pp. Carrying the home to the camp, 19 pp. Series of illustrated lectures on American war activities. Wash., D. C.: Com. on Public Information.

MISCELLANEOUS.

- Brown, Arthur J. The mastery of the Far East. [Japan's rise to supremacy.] N. Y.: Scribner. 671 pp. \$6.00, net.
- Bryce, Catherine T. To arms for liberty; a pageant of the war. Boston: C. C. Birchard and Co. 25 pp. 25 cents.
- Burnham, Smith. Our beginnings in Europe and America. [History for Sixth School Year.] Phila.: Winston. 375 pp. 84 cents.
- Havell, Ernest B. The history of Aryan rule in India from the earliest times to the death of Akbar. N. Y.: Stokes. 582 pp. \$5.00, net.
- Santibañez, Enrique. Historia de la América Latina; compendiada desde los tiempos más remotos hasta nuestros días. N. Y.: Appleton. 257 pp. \$1.50.
- Skinner, Avery W., compiler. Suggested readings for history classes, 1918-1919. Albany, N. Y.: Univ. of State of N. Y. 19 pp.

BIOGRAPHY.

- Brigham, Johnson. Blaine, Conkling, and Garfield. N. Y.: G. E. Stechert. 36 pp. 40 cents, net.
- Shirley, Ralph. A short life of Abraham Lincoln. N. Y.: Funk and Wagnalls. 188 pp. \$1.25, net.
- Lewis, William Draper. The life of Theodore Roosevelt. Phila.: Winston. 500 pp. \$2.25, net.
- Halévy, Daniel. President Wilson. N. Y.: John Lane. 283 pp. \$1.50, net.

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS.

- American Assn. for Internat. Conciliation. The League of Nations: Proposed constitution; speeches by President Wilson; by members of the Commission of the Peace Conference. N. Y.: Am. Assn. for Internat. Concil. 77 pp.
- Banson, E. C. County affairs and county government. Chapel Hill, N. C. 188 pp. 75 cents.
- Crozier, Alfred O. League of Nations. N. Y.: Lecouver Press Co., 51 Vesey St. 106 pp. 50 cents.
- Cummings, John R. A League of Nations. Phila.: J. R. Cummings. 259 So. 17th St. 72 pp. Gratis.
- Fitzpatrick, Edward A. Experts in city government. N. Y.: Appleton. 363 pp. \$2.25, net.
- Laski, Harold J. Authority in the modern state. New Haven, Ct. Yale Univ. 380 pp. \$3.00, net.
- Lippman, Walter. The political scene, an essay on the victory of 1918. N. Y.: Holt. 124 pp. \$1.00, net.



- Spargo, John. Bolshevism, the enemy of political and industrial democracy. N. Y.: Harper. 389 pp. \$1.50, net.
- Webster, Hanson H. Americanization and citizenship lessons . . . for new Americans. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 138 pp. 40 cents.
- Wells, Herbert G., and others. The idea of a League of Nations. Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press. 44 pp. 60 cents.

#### CURRENT PERIODICAL ARTICLES ON THE TEACHING OF HISTORY.

W. L. HALL, SUB-LIBRARIAN IN HISTORY, NEW YORK STATE LIBRARY.

- Blomquist, Mattie C. Making a pageant from local history. *Normal Instructor and Primary Plans*, XXVIII (May, 1919), 16-17.
- Chapman, Ernest T. Organized lessons in sixth grade history. *Popular Educator*, XXXVI (February, 1919), 313, 337.
- Criddle, E. D. The laboratory method in history teaching—its application, scope, and limitations. *The Texas History Teachers' Bulletin*, VII (University of Texas Bulletin, No. 1910, February 15, 1919), 49-53.
- Gathany, J. Madison. Weekly outline study of current history. *The Outlook*.
- Holly, Ella J. Teaching pupils how to study a designated topic in history. *Popular Educator*, XXXVI (May, 1919), 526, 528.
- Knowlton, Daniel C. Readers' guide and study outline. *Leslie's Weekly*.
- Morris, Frank A. Memorizing in history. *Popular Educator*, XXXVI (May, 1919), 489, 508.
- Munro, Dana C. The new history. *The Texas History Teachers' Bulletin*, VII (University of Texas Bulletin, No. 1910, February 15, 1919), 42-48.
- Richards, Mabel M. How to study your home town or community. *Normal Instructor and Primary Plans*, XXVIII (May, 1919), 26, 60.
- Seaton, Mrs. Mary. History in the fifth grade. *The Virginia Journal of Education*, XII (April, 1919), 297-300.
- Stimson, Claude W. How to make history interesting. *Popular Educator*, XXXVI (February, 1919), 341.

#### HISTORICAL ARTICLES IN CURRENT ISSUES OF AMERICAN AND BRITISH PERIODICALS.

COMPILED BY LEO F. STOCK.

##### EUROPE, GENERAL, MISCELLANEOUS.

- History is One. H. G. Wells (*Saturday Evening Post*, May 3).
- Lost Memoirs of Antiquity. James W. Thompson (*Seawanee Review*, April-June).
- The Great Wars of Europe. Condé B. Pallen (*Catholic World*, June).
- German Democracy at the Cross Roads: The Old and New German Constitutions. (*Round Table*, March).
- A Short-Lived Republic. Hosea B. Morse (*New China Review*, March).
- Formosa, May 24-June 3, 1895.

##### THE GREAT WAR AND ITS PROBLEMS.

- The Roots of the War (continued). William S. Davis, in collaboration with William Anderson and Mason W. Tyler (*Century*, May-June).
- Political Parties and the War. John M. Mathews (*American Political Science Review*, May).
- Party attitude in Great Britain, France, Germany, United States.

International Co-operation During the War. Joseph P. Cotton and Dwight W. Morrow (*Atlantic Monthly*, June).

America and the Great War. Edwin J. Draper and Dorothea McBride (*Michigan History Magazine*, April).

Essays winning prizes in the Michigan Historical Commission's contest, 1917-1918.

The Strategy on the Western Front, IV, V. Lieut.-Col. H. H. Sargent, U. S. A., retired (*North American Review*, May, June).

Ohio's Religious Organizations and the War. Martha L. Edwards (*Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, April).

The Truth About the Battle of Jutland. Archibald Hurd (*Fortnightly Review*, April).

The New Light on Jutland. George Aston (*Nineteenth Century and After*, April).

Czecho-Slovak Claims. Rubicon (*New Europe*, March 27, April 3, 10).

The Bulgarian Nationality of the Macedonians. V. K. Sugareff (*Journal of Race Development*, April).

Greece, Bulgaria, and the Principle of Nationality. A. Andreades (*North American Review*, June).

Growth of Croatian Nationalism. Aurelio F. Palmieri (*Catholic World*, June).

The Hungarian Revolution, I, II, III. Rubicon (*New Europe*, April 17, 24, May 1).

What Happened at Omsk? C. E. Beechhofer (*New Europe*, March 27).

The Problem of Dalmatia. Antenor (*History*, April).

The Monroe Doctrine and the Proposed Constitution of the League of Nations. George H. Blakeslee (*Journal of Race Development*, April).

The League of Nations and the Monroe Doctrine. John H. Latané (*World's Work*, London, April).

##### BRITISH EMPIRE.

The British at War. John Fortescue (*Atlantic Monthly*, May).

The Scottish Craft Guild as a Religious Fraternity. Robert Lamond (*Scottish Historical Review*, April).

St. Patrick: His Faith and Works. T. W. Rolleston (*Nineteenth Century and After*, April).

A Study based on the Confession of St. Patrick and an Epistle to a British Prince named Coroticus.

The Celt in Ireland. H. C. MacNeacail (*Scottish Review*, Spring).

Three Egyptian Proconsuls. Malcolm McIlwraith (*Fortnightly Review*, April).

Lord Cromer, Sir Eldon Gorst, Lord Kitchener.

West Indian Federation: Its Historical Aspect. Algernon E. Aspinall (*United Empire*, February).

##### UNITED STATES.

The American Idea. Gaillard Hunt (*Catholic World*, June).

The Frontier Policy of Pennsylvania (continued). George A. Cribbs (*Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, April).

1682-1800, the Quakers' attitude toward war.

Old Kaskaskia Ways and Days. Stuart Brown (*Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, April).

The Commons of Kaskaskia, Cahokia and Prairie du Rocher. Rev. Frederick Beuckman (*Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, April).

Illinois' First Citizen—Pierre Gibault. Joseph J. Thompson (*Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, April).

Early Development of Transportation on the Monongahela River. W. Espy Albright (*Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, April).

Washington at Valley Forge. Hampton L. Carson (*Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, April).

How the Constitution Saved the Revolution. Gaillard Hunt (*Constitutional Review*, April).

Indian Wars and Warriors of the Old Southwest, 1730-1807 (concluded). Albert V. Goodpasture (*Tennessee Historical Review*, December).

- The Snake River in History. Miles Cannon (*Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, March).
- Illinois in the Democratic Movement of the Century. Allen Johnson (*Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, April, 1918).
- Some Notes on Ohio Historiography. Clarence E. Carter (*Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, April).
- The Monroe Doctrine. A. F. Pollard (*History*, April).
- Religious Forces in the United States, 1815-1830. Martha L. Edwards (*Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, March).
- The First Steamship to Cross the Ocean. Isabel L. Smith (*D. A. R. Magazine*, May).
- The Savannah, May, 1819.
- Federal Politics in North Carolina, 1824-1836. William K. Boyd (*South Atlantic Quarterly*, April).
- Missouri Capitals and Capitols, II. Jonas Viles (*Missouri Historical Review*, April).
- The first State Capitol, 1826-1837.
- The Old Chicago Trail. A. Van Dyke Pierson (*Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, April, 1918).
- Early Days on Grand River and the Mormon War, II. Rollin J. Britton (*Missouri Historical Review*, April).
- Legislation by Governor and Judges. William L. Jenks (*Michigan History Magazine*, April).
- A study of the seven territories whose legislatures consisted of a governor and judges.
- Historical Survey of Civic Instruction and Training for Citizenship in Iowa. Clarence R. Aurner (*Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, April).
- The President of the Senate in Iowa. Cyril B. Upham (*Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, April).
- The Federal Relations of Oregon, IV. Lester B. Shippee (*Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, March).
- Negotiations of 1842-1845.
- The Development of the Church (continued). Joseph J. Thompson (*Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, April).
- The Catholic Church in Illinois, 1844-1919.
- Early Agitation for a Pacific Railroad, 1845-1850. Robert S. Cotterill (*Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, March).
- The Northern Pacific Railroad and Some of its History. Hazard Stevens (*Washington Historical Quarterly*, April).
- South Carolina and the Early Tariffs. John L. Conger (*Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, March).
- Tennessee, the Compromise of 1850, and the Nashville Convention. St. George L. Sioussat (*Tennessee Historical Magazine*, December).
- Reprinted from *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, December, 1915.
- Russell's Magazine. Fronde Kennedy (*South Atlantic Quarterly*, April).
- Account of an effort made, 1857-1860, to build up a distinctly Southern literature.
- Looking Backward (continued). Henry Watterson (*Saturday Evening Post*).
- Commercial Intercourse with the Confederacy in the Mississippi Valley, 1861-1865. E. Merton Coulter (*Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, March).
- The Valley Campaign of 1864. Capt. C. R. Hatton (*Confederate Veteran*, May).
- Mexican Projects of the Confederates. J. Fred Rippy (*Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, April).
- The Confederacy, Fifty Years After. Nathaniel W. Stephenson (*Atlantic Monthly*, June).
- History of the State Flag of Missouri. Robert B. Oliver (*Missouri Historical Review*, April).
- Grover Cleveland and the Beginnings of an Era of Reform. Earle D. Ross (*South Atlantic Quarterly*, April).
- Theodore Roosevelt in Retrospect. Maurice F. Egan (*Atlantic Monthly*, May).
- The Life of General Pershing, VI, VII. George MacAdam (*World's Work*, May-June).

## For Summer Schools, Teachers' Training Courses and High School Classes

The study of the antecedents, the events and the outcome of the Great War is as important today as a year ago. Teachers especially must be trained to see the War in all its aspects.

For an understanding of the background of the War; for an analysis of its immediate causes; for the principal documents relating to the War, see

## Collected Materials for the Study of the War

By ALBERT E. MCKINLEY

Revised and enlarged edition, 220 pages. Price, 85 cents net

**MCKINLEY PUBLISHING COMPANY**  
PHILADELPHIA

## A Report of Progress

THE DECISIONS REACHED BY THE COMMITTEE ON HISTORY AND EDUCATION FOR CITIZENSHIP IN THE SCHOOLS, AT ITS RECENT MEETING IN WASHINGTON.

The Committee on History and Education for Citizenship in the Schools held a plenary meeting in Washington on May 30 and 31, with three sessions on the first day and one protracted session on the second. I wish to present at this time a synopsis of the results for publication in the forthcoming number of the *HISTORICAL OUTLOOK*, which statement may be regarded as the Committee's Report of Progress.

One decision arrived at by the committee was to carry forward the work of investigation and the program of conferences to a point where there shall be very little doubt either of the soundness of its conclusions or of their wide acceptability. And inasmuch as the publication of even a tentative report could not be effected in time to influence materially the preparation of school courses for the ensuing year, it was deemed best to refrain from publishing in extenso the results of our findings until some time during the winter of 1919-20. The committee has agreed to hold an adjourned session in connection with the meeting of the American Historical Association, which will convene in Cleveland, Ohio, in December. Meantime, the work of assembling data, of preparing syllabi, and outlining plans will go forward in accordance with decisions reached in the recent sessions.

These decisions included a very definite outline of a course of study covering (a) the first six grades; (b) the junior high school grades; (c) the senior high school grades. This outline of studies is printed below. It will be the thing of greatest interest to readers of the *OUTLOOK* in connection with the present report of progress.

In laying down a definite set of proposals for a course of study, the committee is following out its general policy of presenting at each stage something constructive for teachers to consider and to criticize. It has been found that a general request for suggestions on the subject of a new course of study, or of a modified course of study, even though widely disseminated, is apt to bring very scant returns. Most teachers are too busy to take the time needed to put their ideas into a coherent system in order that they may be able to present helpful points of view. But a constructive plan carries with it either a challenge or an appeal. Those who are pleased will probably be very glad to explain why they are pleased, while those who are dissatisfied ought to be even more eager to present their criticisms in order to avoid the infliction on the country of a system they deem faulty in any respect.

The experience of the committee in presenting before conferences of teachers and through *THE HIS-*

*TORICAL OUTLOOK* definite suggestions, both respecting possible new high school courses and respecting a revised elementary school course, fully justifies the policy of "open diplomacy" which it has pursued from the beginning. For it has been found that the teachers of the country are genuinely anxious to be of assistance when they are given an opportunity to state their views in concrete terms.

On the suggested course of study for the elementary and grammar grade, which was printed in the *HISTORICAL OUTLOOK* for May, three main criticisms came to the committee from so many sources and with such general unanimity as to be profoundly impressive. It was said that the proposed course contemplated the inclusion of too much European matter; that it failed to provide a well-rounded course in American history and civics to be completed by the end of the sixth grade, when so many pupils are obliged to drop out of school; that it made no adequate provision for a definite scheme of social studies in the junior high school.

These criticisms were all taken fully into consideration in planning the revised scheme as given below. The committee, while still convinced that even young pupils ought to learn something about European life, recognized nevertheless that the former Committee of Eight had probably gauged pretty accurately the sentiment of the American people and American schools on that point. It will be recalled that in its report the Committee of Eight provides for a very complete round of American history, in elementary and story form, prior to the sixth grade, and it includes European story material in only one of the lower grades, the third. It devotes the sixth year to a study of European backgrounds of American history, thus laying the foundations for the more intensive narrative study of American history in the seventh and eighth grades.

The junior high school is an educational development postdating the publication of the Report of the Committee of Eight, so that little guidance with reference to a special curriculum for the seventh, eighth and ninth grades can be found in that report. In recent years the junior high school form of school organization has been a most vital element in educational development. The problem of its curriculum is being worked out at this very time and a general agreement prevails that history and social studies should constitute the core of the work. The committee, after studying a number of recent programs, was able to propose what it believes to be a sensible and adequate curriculum for those three grades.

It was the great good fortune of our committee, at



its recent sessions, to have the advantage of the advice of Prof. Henry Johnson, of Teachers' College, Columbia University, whose intensive study of the history teaching problem, with experimentation in all grades of the work, during the past twenty-five years has made him the pre-eminent specialist in the subject of history teaching. It would be quite impossible to overstate the interest and value of the constructive suggestions Dr. Johnson brought before the committee. Others whose counsel proved of notable value are Prof. James Alton James, chairman of the former Committee of Eight; Prof. Albert E. McKinley, editor of the *HISTORICAL OUTLOOK*, and Prof. R. M. Tryon, of the University of Chicago. The committee is glad to recognize, publicly, the aid given by these friends of the cause and by many others whose interest has been enlisted, and whose suggestions are sure to contribute to the success of the final report.

#### THE SUGGESTED COURSE OF STUDY.

##### The Elementary School—Grades 1-6.

The course begins in the community and ends in the community, and draws at every stage upon the pupil's experience in the community. It embraces two units or cycles:

I. The making of the community. From a simple study of changes now visibly in progress the pupil is led back to the days of Indian occupation. He learns what Indians were like, how they lived, and some of the stories which they told about themselves; how the white men came, how they lived in pioneer days, and some of the great changes since. The story at no point leaves the community.

This work is designed for the second grade.

II. The making of the United States. A few facts of primary significance in the development of the United States are selected and so arranged as to form a simple but connected story. At the end provision is made for a study of how we are governed to-day. This work is designed to begin in the third grade and to continue through the sixth grade, as follows:

Third grade: How Europeans found our continent and what they did with it. Some fundamental problems of discovery, exploration, and settlement are here illustrated.

Fourth grade: How Englishmen became Americans, 1607-1783.

Fifth grade: The United States, 1783-1877.

Sixth grade: The United States since 1877 (half year). How we are governed to-day (half year).

For schools that may wish to begin history later than the second grade a re-arrangement of this cycle is recommended. The special syllabus for these grades, which is to accompany the final report, will develop the methodology of the subject. Detailed provision will also be made for adequate civic and moral instruction in each grade.

#### THE JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL, GRADES 7-9.

##### III. *American history in its world setting.*

This will constitute a third unit, or cycle, designed to form a logical and psychological development of the work given in the elementary grades. A few facts of primary significance in the development of human civilization are selected and so arranged as to form a simple but connected story. Our own country is here treated as a part of the world whole, but with special emphasis upon our own contributions and problems. This work is designed for the seventh, eighth and ninth grades, and is divided as follows:

Seventh grade: The world before 1607, and the beginnings of American history, including the building of the Spanish Empire in the New World, the basis of the present group of Latin American Republics.

Eighth grade: The world since 1607 viewed in relation to the evolution and expanding world influence of the United States. Treatment is to take account of civic problems, but to emphasize specially the economic and social features of our history up to recent times.

Ninth grade: Community and national activities. This course combines recent economic and social history with commercial geography and civics.

For those pupils of the ninth grade who expect to complete the senior high school, the committee recommends as an alternative to the above, a course in the progress of civilization from earliest times to about 1650.

#### SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL, GRADES 10-12.

##### *The Modern World.*

IV. This fourth unit, or cycle, for pupils who are about to function as active citizens on a rather high plane of political and social intelligence, will consist of the following year courses:

Tenth grade: Progress toward world democracy, 1650 to the present. This will be a study mainly of European history, but with some attention also to the rest of the non-American world.

The emphasis will be upon political movements and political reorganizations. But the explanations of these will be sought in economic changes, in inventions, discoveries, and social regroupings, as well as in the leadership of great personages and the influence of critical or constructive ideas.

Eleventh grade: The above course will form the background for a study, in the same spirit, of United States history during the national period, with emphasis on a list of topics to be selected for special treatment, and with critical comparisons with institutions and with tendencies in other countries.

Twelfth grade: Social, economic, and political principles and problems.

There will be a syllabus on the work of the junior high school as a whole, and a special syllabus on each of the proposed senior high school courses. The com-

mittee hopes either to secure the co-operation of sociologists, economists and political scientists in preparing a syllabus for the twelfth grade course, or to be able to embody in its report a course prepared independently by these groups and designed to constitute the cap-stone course in social science in the high school.

In its final report, the recommendations of the present committee will be co-ordinated with the re-

ports of the Committee of Seven and the Committee of Five on high school studies in history, and the Committee of Eight on the study of history in the elementary schools. The committee recognizes that its work grows out of and is conditioned by the work of these earlier committees.

Submitted for the committee

By JOSEPH SCHAFFER,  
Chairman.

## Geography and Reconstruction

---

Never before has there been such a need for a clear understanding of geography in its relation to races and nations.

Classes in history and in geography need frequent practice with Outline Maps in order to become familiar with the locations of regions and races which have recently grown significant.

## THE MCKINLEY OUTLINE MAPS

in Wall and Desk sizes are excellently adapted for such uses. There is not a disputed area of the earth which is not depicted upon some of the maps of this series.

Write for free samples, stating the phase of history or geography in which you are interested, to

---

**MCKINLEY PUBLISHING COMPANY**  
**PHILADELPHIA**

# DO YOU KNOW

William Morris Davis  
 Charles R. Dryer  
 J. Russell Smith  
 Jacques W. Redway  
 Ellsworth Huntington  
 Sumner W. Cushing  
 Frank Carney  
 George B. Roorbach

Albert Bushnell Hart  
 James H. Breasted  
 Samuel B. Harding  
 Herbert E. Bolton  
 Carl F. Huth, Jr.  
 David M. Matteson

The men in the first group above are editing a new series of geography maps which will be the finest school maps "Made in America." These maps will be ready shortly after the new boundaries are determined. The following maps (size 44 x 54 inches) will be included in this new series:

United States  
 Europe  
 Asia  
 Africa

North America  
 South America  
 Eastern Hemisphere

Western Hemisphere  
 World  
 Eastern United States

The men in the second group have edited comprehensive series of Ancient, European, and American History Maps, which are now being used with excellent results throughout the United States, not only in history courses but also in classes in geography.

For further particulars fill in the coupon and mail

**DENOYER-GEPPERT COMPANY,**

(H-O-6-19)

**460 East Ohio Street, Chicago**

I am interested in the following maps:

☐ New Geography Maps  
☐ Hart American History Maps

☐ Harding European History Maps  
☐ Breasted Ancient History Maps

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Position \_\_\_\_\_

Town \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_